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## PART OF THE STEM OF A ROMAN MONUMENTAL CANDELABRUM OF STONE, FROM YORK

By I. A. RICHMOND, V.-P.S.A.

IN 1876, while the York railway station and goods yard were being planned anew by the North Eastern Railway (now the London and North Eastern Railway), a carved stone<sup>1</sup> was found on the 'hill near the New Goods Station', a site of which the exact position, now obscured by still more extensive railway development, is discussed below (see p. 7). The stone was presented by the Directors of the North Eastern Railway to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, which already owed much to their public spirit; and it was in due course described, in the Society's catalogue,<sup>2</sup> as 'a fragment of pillar, 2 ft. 8 in. high, ornamented with human heads and basket-work, over which a man is climbing'. In the Society's Annual Report<sup>3</sup> for 1876 it had, however, won no particular description and was doubtless regarded as among 'the one or two sculptured stones' blandly recorded as having 'added to the completeness of the collection of Roman antiquities'.

The description already quoted gives a very fair general picture of the piece (pl. 1), but it is not a detailed consideration. It merits amplification, if only because sculptured stones so elaborate are rare among the relics of the Roman age in Britain. The stone itself is a local sandstone, coarse in grain but easy to carve, and has formed part of a detached circular shaft, which is shown by large square dowel-holes, at top and bottom, to have been part of a larger object. The lowest surviving feature is a large cushion mould or *torus*, upon which is planted a basket, shaped like an hour-glass with a rounded base. The basket-work is indicated by fluting, each flute standing for a stake, fashioned at first vertical and then askew and held in position by horizontal stakes at the top, the waist, and the base of the hour-glass. This is how an actual basket<sup>4</sup> might be constructed. Above the basket the core containing the upper dowel-hole is masked by a decoration of alternate heads and animals, four of each and eight in all. One head is broken away, but of the three remaining one is moustached and bearded, while the other two are youthful and almost feminine in appearance. It would thus seem as if old and young, or possibly male and female, have alternated on this part of the stone. The animals which separate these bold and

<sup>1</sup> *Guide to the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society*, 1891, 71, no. 92. I would here desire to express my thanks to the keeper of the Yorkshire Museum, Mr. Wagstaffe, for his kindness in allowing me to study the stone, and to Mr. R. P. Wright for the photograph which forms plate 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Yorkshire Philosophical Society, Annual Report*, 1876.

<sup>4</sup> For modern basketry and technical terms see Bottrill and Hardy, *The Practical Instruction Handbook*, Junior, i, 154, and pl. viii. Also, Bobart, *Basket-work through the Ages* (Oxford, 1936), *passim*, for a general history of the craft.

rather barbaric heads are quadrupeds sitting on their haunches, of dog or lion species, and one of them at least, which still displays the edge of a serrate wing, must be a sphinx or a gryphon.<sup>1</sup> The other three are too worn to be clearly distinguishable, but there is a suggestion of similarity in their weathered remains.

The most striking feature of the decoration remains to be described. This is a completely naked climbing boy, whose two hands vigorously clasp the top of the basket, while his right knee grips the bottom of the hour-glass and his left leg is fully extended and must have stood on the stone now missing from below our fragment. His back is turned towards the spectator, while a sharp and exaggerated twist of the neck enables him to look back over his right shoulder, between his extended arms. The figure was apparently matched on the opposite side of the shaft by another, whose body, while set so close to the stone as to prevent the sculptor from carving the flutings of the basket-work thus concealed from view, was nevertheless in contact with the stone only at hands and knees, now represented by four shapeless lumps where the figure was broken away. Other objects have also been associated with the figures, but these also have vanished, and are marked only by pendant lumps clutched by the climbing boy or by lumps on the surface of the basket close to his right knee and left buttock. Damage to this part of the design is thus so extensive as to preclude an immediate perception of the meaning of the group, but the general nature of the composition is clear. The great basket was flanked by a pair of vigorous climbing figures, associated in turn with other attached decoration, and the surviving figure is manifestly a boy, who must be regarded as a cupid, *putto*, or *amorino*. But the association of cupids with baskets belongs to a well-known convention in Roman art, which makes them respectively the principal actors and accessories in scenes of the vintage or grape-harvest. When this is recalled, it is not difficult to interpret the remains of the attached decoration as grape-bunches or vine-stalks, among which the cupids are climbing. The connexions and significance of this somewhat esoteric decoration are considered below.

We have, then, an elaborately decorated shaft, in the form of a cushion surmounted by a basket round which *amorini* climb amid foliage, almost certainly of the vine, while the basket is in turn surmounted by a zone of human heads, alternating with sphinx-like creatures sitting upon their haunches. This decoration, while crudely executed and even barbarously conceived, is wholly derived from classical convention. The basket, the climbing *amorini*, the sphinx-like forms, and the human heads are all borrowings from Mediterranean art, and when so much detail derives from a single region, it may be asked whether the general design cannot be matched there also. Here an answer is not far to seek. Just as the basket is the most prominent element, so it is the most significant, there being only one type of shaft<sup>2</sup> upon which it is found. This is the stem of a monumental candelabrum, to which the hour-glass

<sup>1</sup> The other possible winged quadrupeds, the horse and the chimaera, are not in question.

<sup>2</sup> The basket with acanthus leaves was a common motif, see Helbig, *Führer durch die Sammlungen klassischen Altertums im Rom*, i, 227-8, nos. 352-4, from S. Agnese; 'sind die Schäfte aus je vier mit Akanthosblättern überzogenen Körben zusammen-

gesetzt denen schalenförmige Gegenstände—je zwei zwischen zwei Körben—als Verbindungsglieder dienen'. Cf. *ibid.* i, 233-4, no. 363, from Vigna Verospì, in the ancient *horti Sallustiani*; and *ibid.* i, 244, no. 378, from the Naples district, now in the Louvre; see also Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, i, 37 and iv, 326.



Stem of a Roman candelabrum in stone, from York. Photograph  
by R. P. Wright

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shape of such baskets gives, as in two examples from the Louvre, a richness of form in harmony with the almost rococo spirit of these elaborate furnishings. The same interpretation will admirably fit the cushion mould, which may be regarded as the bold connecting link almost regularly seen on these pieces<sup>1</sup> between the principal elements. Further, a very special significance in the same line of explanation attaches to the upper zone of human heads and the sphinx-like figures which separate them. While the heads are manifestly designed upon broad horizontal lines, the hieratic animals are vertical elements, whose function in classical design<sup>2</sup> is normally that of supporters. They must have led on either to another portion of the stem or, more probably, to the bowl of the candelabrum itself; since, from the point of view of pure design, they would make better supporters of the wide and shallow bowl than of the tall and yet heavy element formed by another section of the stem. In short, the design strongly suggests that the surviving piece is the topmost element in the stem, from just below the bowl. All the general features of the piece thus indubitably class it as part of a large candelabrum, and complete surviving examples<sup>3</sup> will suggest that there may have been two, if not three, such elements forming the stem, supported on a base not smaller in proportion than two of them. The bases<sup>4</sup> of these stone candelabra were sometimes triangular and sometimes four-sided, and in this case the four-sided character of the decoration, particularly apparent in the masks of the upper zone, but also implied by the arrangement of the *amorini*, leaves no doubt that the base was quadrilateral. As to the original size of the piece, only the roughest estimate is possible. The element in our possession is now 2 ft. 8 in. high. The whole object might therefore have been anything from 13 to 16 ft. high. The estimate, rough though it be, is sufficient to place the York fragment among the monumental candelabra of the ancient world.

As their size alone would dictate, Roman candelabra of this scale have not survived from antiquity in large numbers, and they are better known<sup>5</sup> in the great Roman centres of civilization south of the Alps. It is from Rome and neighbourhood and from certain other great Italian cities that the surviving examples come. And, while there is some reason for thinking that these stately pieces of furniture may have adorned temples<sup>6</sup> or very rich villas,<sup>7</sup> their normal associations are with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *J.R.S.* v, 154, fig. 38; Altmann, *Die römische Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, 117, fig. 94, 120, fig. 96.

<sup>2</sup> For a table-leg see Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, 392, fig. 182. For a supporter on a candelabrum, under the bowl, *ibid.* 307, fig. 191; as feet, Blümner, *Handbuch der klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, iv, 2, part ii, 141, fig. 39, and *J.R.S.* v, 158, fig. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Reinach, *op. cit.* i, 127.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Helbig, *op. cit.* i, 134, nos. 206-7, 221, nos. 334-5 for three-sided bases, and i, 236, no. 365 or *B.M. Cat. Sculpture*, iii, 2509, and Benndorf-Schoene, *Die antike Bildwerke des Lateranischen Museums*, 326-7, for four-sided bases.

<sup>5</sup> In the absence of an up-to-date general study of candelabra, this statement can be no more than a general impression. But it will be noted that,

apart from those catalogued by Helbig, Benndorf-Schoene's pieces are all from Rome, Venice, Verona, Florence, and the Louvre, the Louvre pieces being imported from south of the Alps.

<sup>6</sup> Vitruvius, *De architectura*, vii, 173, mentions *candelabra aedicularum*, while Cicero, *Orat. Verr.* ii, iv, 28, 64-5, mentions *candelabrum e gemmis clarissimis opere mirabili perfectum*, given to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Sutherland further draws attention to the use of candelabra in the nocturnal religious celebrations associated with the Secular Games, see *Class. Rev.* lviii, 46-9, and, for the coins, *B.M.C.* i, nos. 683 and 684 (Augustus), and ii, nos. 135 and 136 (Domitian).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Helbig, *op. cit.* i, 134, nos. 206 and 207, from Hadrian's Villa, and i, 233, no. 363, from the

the tomb. This appears not only from the association of one of the most famous groups<sup>1</sup> with the Imperial Mausoleum of Santa Costanza, but, as the late Dr. Rushforth<sup>2</sup> demonstrated, from their continual employment as decorative motifs upon ash-chests and sarcophagi and by their actual appearance in the sole representative scene<sup>3</sup> of a Roman lying-in-state now extant. It is thus likely, upon general grounds, that the York piece belonged to the furniture of a mausoleum. This general likelihood is amply confirmed by a consideration of its decoration.

*Amorini* amid vine-clusters or foliage, at first employed in Roman art as a subordinate decoration<sup>4</sup> indicative of prosperity or well-being, had also by the second century appeared upon sarcophagi, in particular upon those of the Bacchic or Dionysiac group<sup>5</sup> and upon the less esoteric Barberini or Conservatori sarcophagi<sup>6</sup> of the Four Seasons. They there form subordinate or background scenes alluding to after-life where the *amorini*—types of the *animula vagula blandula*—stand for souls,<sup>7</sup> while the grapes symbolize either heavenly food or the luxuriance of paradise.<sup>8</sup> The rich convention lent itself so well to Christian interpretation,<sup>9</sup> of Christ as the True Vine or of Heaven as a paradise, that it was taken over, unchanged in form but transmuted in content, by fourth-century Christian art. It is thus used for the background on the Museo Capitolino sarcophagus<sup>10</sup> of Materna or on the Lateran sarcophagus<sup>11</sup> of the Good Shepherd: but it is the main lateral feature on the rich porphyry coffin<sup>12</sup> of the Imperial princess Constantia, where it echoed the glorious mosaic dome<sup>13</sup> of her mausoleum, now the church of Santa Costanza, on which paradise or the felicity of the souls of the righteous is represented by a vintage-scene of *amorini*. Nor is the motif quite unknown upon candelabra. We can dismiss the *Erotes* whose lower limbs sprout foliage on the candelabra-bases<sup>14</sup> of

*horti Sallustiani*. Two now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, are also from Hadrian's Villa.

<sup>1</sup> Helbig, *op. cit.* i, 225, nos. 341 and 342; cf. Rushforth, *J.R.S.* v, 149 ff. for a complete discussion of the series.

<sup>2</sup> *J.R.S.* v, 149-64; cf. Altmann, *Die römische Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, cap. x, 112-22.

<sup>3</sup> The relief of the Haterii, see *J.R.S.* v, pls. ix-x.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. the Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna, Bartoccini, *Africa italiana*, iv (1931), 57-8, figs. 27-8.

<sup>5</sup> See Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, fig. 9, and the lid figured as fig. 27, not from the same group but with the same artistic affinity. Also *ibid.*, fig. 40, the Casali sarcophagus in the Ny-Karlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, cf. *N.-K. G. Katalog*, no. 778.

<sup>6</sup> The Barberini sarcophagus is figured by Strong, *Apotheosis and After-life*, pl. xxxii; the Conservatori sarcophagus in *Cat. Conservatori Museum*, p. 72, pl. 26.

<sup>7</sup> See Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen, *op. cit.* 46, note 147, as against Rumpf, *Antike Sarkophagreliefs*, i, 130 ff. They add something to Furtwängler's interpretation of the *Erotes* as the blessed souls in Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Mythologie*,

1368-70. With these deductions from archaeological objects should be compared Hadrian's famous poem on the *animula vagula blandula* in *S.H.A. Divi Hadriani*, 25, 9. Figuratively conceived, this image can be no other than a *putto*, though this does not seem to have been stated by commentators.

<sup>8</sup> For wine as a heavenly food see Cumont, *Afterlife in Roman Paganism*, 203 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Gospel of St. John, xv, 1 ff. For an early Christian conception of paradise as a fruitful garden of bliss see the Syriac Aphraates, *Patrologia Orientalis*, i, 1014, quoted by Cumont, *op. cit.* 206.

<sup>10</sup> *Cat. Museo Capitolino*, 331, Stanza del Fauno, no. 28, pl. 83.

<sup>11</sup> Ducati, *L'Arte in Roma*, Tav. 232, 1, and 233, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, 134, fig. 77; cf. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, 79, fig. 36, for a similar porphyry fragment from Constantinople, where the vine-scrolls sprout grapes for the *amorini* to gather.

<sup>13</sup> Ducati, *op. cit.* Tav. 241, 2; cf. photograph Anderson, Rome, 83.

<sup>14</sup> Benndorf-Schoene, *op. cit.* 326; cf. Reinach, *op. cit.* iii, 416, 4-6 (S. Costanza), and 417, 2 (S. Agnese).

Sant' Agnese, Santa Costanza, the Museo Pio-Clementino, or the Villa Borghese. But we cannot neglect either the Wollanka base<sup>1</sup> in Budapest, on which a niche containing Athena Promachos is surrounded by scrolls enveloping climbing *amorini*, or the Ephesus candelabrum head<sup>2</sup> with similar scroll decoration. Again, the Louvre candelabrum stem<sup>3</sup> of hour-glass shape, to which reference has already been made (p. 3), exhibits an Eros set amid vines, who turns his back upon the spectator. It is evident, then, that the sepulchral associations of the most important decorative feature on the York fragment are fully established in Roman art, whether pagan or Christian. No less important, however, are the heads and the hieratic figures of the upper zone, for these are specifically pagan in tradition and implication. Winged hieratic figures, whether sphinxes or gryphons, are symbolic of the tomb,<sup>4</sup> but the association of these figures with human heads, whose eyes denote that they are not masks, strongly suggests that the York figures were sphinxes. The Sphinx, remorseless devourer of those who cannot read her riddles, appears frequently on first-century Roman military tombs<sup>5</sup> as representing Death itself, sometimes even feeding upon human heads. And it may well be that this classical motif made a special appeal to the soldiery, so many of them Gauls by birth or descent, who as late as Trajan's day<sup>6</sup> still regarded head-hunting as a manifestation of prowess, so that the age-old classical symbolism acquired among them immediate topicality and favour. If, on the other hand, the animals were gryphons, their functions<sup>7</sup> as familiars of Nemesis, guardians of the tomb or bearers of the soul to heaven, are well known, but they did not feed upon human flesh, like the Sphinx. It is thus easier to understand the juxtaposition of heads and hieratic animals if the latter are understood as sphinxes, but in any case the allusion to the grave is plain and inescapable. The Sphinx, as already observed (p. 3), is well attested as a supporter of the bowl wherein the candles or wicks were placed, while a sphinx forms part of the stem<sup>8</sup> of a candelabrum on the corner of the ash-chest of Cocceius Dexius Clymenus, now in the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> Hekler, *Die Antiken im Budapest*, 106, no. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Now in Vienna, see Reinach, *op. cit.* iv, 326.

<sup>3</sup> Reinach, *op. cit.* i, 37.

<sup>4</sup> For the Sphinx, see *J.R.S.* ii, 149-51; Robert, *Oedipus*, i, 48 ff., 77 ff., and ii, 17; Roscher, *op. cit.*, s.v., and Richter, *Archaic Attic Gravestones* (Boston, 1944), 20. To illustrate, cf. Aeschylus, *Septem contra Thebas*, 541, Σφίγγ' ὀμβρόνρον, or 776-7, τὰν ἀρταφάνδραν κήρα. The gryphon was the familiar of Nemesis, see Cook, *Zeus*, i, 270, figs. 196-7.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. Colchester Sphinx, *J.R.S.* ii, 148, fig. 16, and the Colchester tombstone of Sdapematyus, *J.R.S.* xviii, 213, pl. xxiii, also the York figure, less well known, figured by Benson, *Yorkshire Philological Society Report*, 1910, pl. v, fig. 8. With the man-eating Colchester Sphinx should be compared the Sphinx with human head from Museo Borbonico, Naples, see Reinach, *op. cit.* ii, 707, 1, and the Trier Sphinx and hero, see Ferri, *Arte romana del Reno*, 214, fig. 133. For Rhineland tombstones see

*Germania Romana* (2nd edn.), pl. xxv, the tomb of Bassus from Cologne; pl. xix, 2, the tomb of Viator from Mainz; and iv, 4, the tomb of Optatus from Bonn.

<sup>6</sup> Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule*,

<sup>7</sup> See n. 4, above. For gryphons as soul-bearers see Strong, *Apotheosis and After-life*, 209-10, 213; and as guardians of the sacred flame, Strong, *La scultura romana*, 247, pl. xlvii. As with the Sphinx, time tended to render tradition milder, but the grim side of these mythical creatures was never quite forgotten.

<sup>8</sup> *B.M. Cat. Sculpture*, iii, no. 2359. The winged sphinx in the middle of the stem is a supporter, not quite apparent from Rushforth's illustration (*J.R.S.* v, 154, fig. 38), but immediately evident upon inspection of the piece, for which opportunity was kindly afforded the writer by Mr. John Allan of the British Museum.

In view of these stylistic and historical considerations bearing upon the motifs of the decoration on the York piece, its date can hardly be in doubt. The *amorini* engaged in the grape-harvest were hardly common decorator's stock before the third century, and then remained in vogue until the fifth. But, while these pagan creatures could, so to speak, be dedicated afresh to the service of Christian symbolism, the same was not true of the Sphinx or the gryphon, whose doom was implicit in the Christian message of victory over death. These must belong to the pagan age, and, since York was the seat<sup>1</sup> of a bishopric, it is unlikely that such imagery continued for long into the fourth century. It is easier to assume that it belonged to the third century.

Comparative study of the decoration thus leaves no doubt that the York candelabrum had a sepulchral purpose, and the possibility of it having served as an article of domestic or temple furniture can be dismissed. It will be well, then, to recall Rushforth's demonstration of the use to which such funeral candelabra were put. It is evident that during the relatively brief lying-in-state<sup>2</sup> of the deceased, before cremation or burial, the catafalque upon which the body lay was illuminated by a candelabrum burning at each corner, shedding the light which was welcome<sup>3</sup> to the departed for a variety of reasons. Such regular undertaker's furniture must obviously have been fashioned in lighter material than stone, for the sake of portability. Painted or gilded wood<sup>4</sup> not only suggests itself as the most suitable material, always excepting the necessarily non-inflammable bowl, but this material would explain the general design, the deep carving, and the rococo effect of these large candelabra as a class. To execute them in stone at all is, in fact, a *tour de force* rather than a practice invited by the material. But in the long and silent sojourn of the tomb, whether for the service of the departed or for use by their relatives and descendants upon appointed feasts of the dead, permanent candelabra<sup>5</sup> were provided. These massive pieces, whose fate was often to outlast the very memory of the dead with whom they were associated, would in wealthiest circles properly be made of richer and more durable material than wood. The existence of stone candelabra is thus explained: and it may

<sup>1</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, 7, quoting Mansi, *Concilia*, ii, 466-7, on the Council of Arles in A.D. 314.

<sup>2</sup> *J.R.S.* v, 150-1, on Persius, *Sat.* iii, 103, as Blümner agrees, see next note.

<sup>3</sup> Lights were used to honour and delight the dead, as on the candelabra in Etruscan tombs; cf. Poulsen, *Etruscan Tomb-paintings*, 38, fig. 32, the Tomba Golini at Orvieto, for their use at funeral feasts. But, like music and incense, they must also have had an apotropaic value against evil spirits; cf. Candelifera, the goddess present at birth, when candles were kindled, Tertullian, *Ad nationes*, ii, 11, and Roscher's remarks s.v. Lights were also lit to the honour of the corpse and were rekindled at anniversaries, on the grave or in the tomb, see Suetonius, *Divi Aug.* 98, of the freedman Masgabas;

Dio Cass. lxxvii, 9, 2, of Domitian's mock feast of the dead; Petronius, 111, 4, of the widow of Ephesus; and *C.I.L.* ii, 2102, vi, 10248, x. 633, and xi. 2506, cited by Blümner, *Die römische Privataltertümer*, *Handbuch der klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, iv, 2, ii, 485, note 17, where he also concurs in the view that the *candelae* of Persius (see previous note) refer to the candles placed round the corpse when lying in state.

<sup>4</sup> Wooden candelabra are mentioned by Petronius, 95, Martial, xiv, 44, Athenaeus, xv, 700 e, and Nonius Marcellus, 202, 15 (edn. Lindsay, p. 297), but these are table-lamps or lights in camp. For the deep carving possible in wood cf. the Berlin stem from Eshmunein, Egypt, figured by Strong, *La scultura romana*, 348, pl. lxx, Dalton, *op. cit.* 149, and Strzygowski, *op. cit.* 65, pl. iii.

<sup>5</sup> Rushforth, *J.R.S.* v, 157.



further be observed that the provision of four candelabra, one for each corner of the sarcophagus, appears to be a minimum. At Santa Costanza, as Rushforth<sup>1</sup> gave good reasons for thinking, there seem to have been at least twelve, ordinarily set in niches round the circular tomb-chamber, but perhaps, as he suggested, grouped otherwise during rites of commemoration. In any case, the size, costliness, and rarity of these relics shows that they were associated only with the tombs of the wealthy, and the presence of such a candelabrum in York thus connotes the existence there of an important mausoleum in the full classical style, of a kind which only a legate, a high official, or one of the richest citizens of Eboracum is likely to have been able to afford.

The site in York where this notable fragment was found is a significant position. As contemporary maps<sup>2</sup> show, the 'New Goods Station' of 1876 lay almost immediately north-west of the existing York passenger station, at the foot of the ridge now crowned by the Poppleton Road School. The boundary of the railway company's property marches with that of the school, and it is therefore clear that it was on the slope of this ridge, 'the hill behind the New Goods Station', that the discovery was made. The adjacent passenger station is itself famous<sup>3</sup> as the site of some well-furnished and notable interments, found when it was built: but nothing appears to have been recorded of the tomb-structures that must have been associated with them, and it may well be that stone-robbers had long previously removed all obvious remains. But the passenger-station group is not in the position most favoured by Roman convention,<sup>4</sup> which esteemed above all a grave-plot by a busy road, whose varied and bustling traffic was reckoned a solace to the dead. This requirement is much better met by the goods-station site: for the ridge behind it, where our fragment was found, carried<sup>5</sup> the Roman North Road by way of Aldborough, one of the busiest and most important highways in the York district. The position was, in fact, one of the best that could be chosen, bordering the Great North Road and in full view of either the Roman town or fortress.

It is thus legitimate to conclude that during the third century the road from York to the north was bordered by at least one tomb, whose size and style might have warranted comparison with the great tombs of Rome itself. It has also been shown that the candelabrum, upon whose dimensions this conclusion is based, has close social and artistic connexions with full classical convention, though a strong smack of provincialism and some reminiscences of military taste are to be detected in the decoration of the upper zone. There is, again, no doubt whatever that the work was done by a local carver, whose skill with the chisel was hardly equal to reproducing the rhythm and delicacy of the design which he was set to copy. Thus, it was the fashion and not the carver that came from Italy to York, and it is of some interest to inquire how this style made its long journey, since it certainly did not travel in the bags of military couriers.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 153.

<sup>2</sup> Ordnance Survey.

<sup>3</sup> No comprehensive account of these important discoveries was ever published, and no modern study of the surviving remains exists. Contemporary notes are to be found in *Collectanea Antiqua*, vii, 172-81, *Arch. Ael.*, ser. 2, viii, 127-31, and

*Academy*, v, 1875, 546.

<sup>4</sup> Cumont, *Afterlife in Roman Paganism*, 58, quoting *I.L.S.* 6746 = *C.I.L.* v, 7464, the tomb of a *sevir* from the colony of Industria, in the lower Po valley.

<sup>5</sup> Codrington, *Roman Roads in Britain*, 3rd edn. (1918), 145.

Here, once again, the *amorini* in the vineyard are the material for a test. Joyous *amorini*, typifying souls in bliss, are not unknown in the art of the north-west, as on the famous Igel monument,<sup>1</sup> near Trier, where they form subordinate figures on decorative pilasters. But, thanks to both French and German studies, it can be stated with some confidence that grape-harvesters are rarer. They occur in the Moselle valley,<sup>2</sup> at Trier and Illingen, and also in Luxembourg<sup>3</sup> and at Speier,<sup>4</sup> but they are absent elsewhere in Belgica and Lugdunensis. It is, indeed, known that commerce passed from the land of the Treveri to York. Gaily painted Rhenish ware,<sup>5</sup> with its pithy legends of wine, women, and good living, or the elegant glass table-ware,<sup>6</sup> of which Roman Cologne was a famous centre, certainly made the journey across the sea and are to be seen in York Museum. But it must also be borne in mind that the motif which we are studying won its popularity in Belgica through its connexion with wine; and while a Treveran *negotiator cretarius et vinarius* is to be found in Lyons,<sup>7</sup> where it may be thought that he was importing pottery and exporting the famous wine of the Allobroges, the Rhineland merchants who figure in the British trade are only *negotiatores cretarii*.<sup>8</sup> This indubitably implies that the ships went to Britain laden with pottery, like that which was wrecked<sup>9</sup> upon Pudding Pan Rock, and came back with the raw materials which Britain could export. But it is less certain that they carried much wine, since it must be considered highly doubtful whether Belgica had wine to spare for the British market: the bulk of Belgica's produce must certainly have been absorbed on the spot<sup>10</sup> by the very large demands of the Rhine garrison. Thus, if little or no Belgic wine travelled to Britain, doubts begin to arise whether Belgica can after all have been the transmitting source of the grape-harvester motif.

There is, in fact, another Gallic province to which we may turn for a more clearly demonstrable connexion with York through the wine trade. This is Aquitaine, which had in Roman times an already old connexion with Britain. Strabo,<sup>11</sup> writing under Tiberius, and describing the Garonne estuary as one of the principal points of departure for Britain, was in fact merely consecrating an older tradition.<sup>12</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Dragendorff und Krüger, *Das Grabmal von Igel*, Taf. 5 and 7.

<sup>2</sup> Éesperandieu, *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*, vi, 4991 (Trier), 5097 (Illingen).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* v, 4226 (Waldbillig); also Loeschcke, *Denkmäler vom Weinbau aus der Zeit der Römerherrschaft an Mosel, Saar und Ruwer*, Abb. 1 (Emerange).

<sup>4</sup> Éesperandieu, *op. cit.* viii, 5960 = Loeschcke, *op. cit.*, Abb. 13 a.

<sup>5</sup> May, *Roman Pottery in York Museum*, 38-9; cf. Loeschcke, *op. cit.* 43-50, and *C.I.L.* xiii, fasc. iii, part ii, pp. 532 ff.

<sup>6</sup> No account of York glass has yet been produced, but many pieces are treated by Thorpe, *English Glass*, the Rhine-Seine imports being specially mentioned on p. 42, note 6, and figured in pls. v, c, vi, a, and figs. 2 c and 2 d.

<sup>7</sup> Lyons, *C.I.L.* xiii, 2033. For the Allobrogic

wine see Pliny, *N.H.* xiv, 18, 26, 57.

<sup>8</sup> Cumont, *Comment la Belgique fût romanisée*, 29, note 3, quoting the *negotiatores Britannici* of Domburg (*C.I.L.* xiii, 8793), Cologne (xiii, 8164 a), and Mainz (xiii, 7300).

<sup>9</sup> *V.C.H. Kent*, iii, 163-5.

<sup>10</sup> The Rhineland garrison of six legions with a comparable proportion of auxiliaries was twice as large as the British garrison and at the very doorstep of Belgica: it must have absorbed all the wine to spare.

<sup>11</sup> Strabo, iv, 5, 2, citing as habitual passages those from the mouths of the Rhine, Seine, Loire, and Garonne.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Diodorus Siculus, v, 38, 5, of the mid-first century B.C., who states that tin 'was brought through the midst of Gaul on horse-back by merchants to Marseilles and to Narbo, the latter being

development of the route in Roman Imperial times is attested by the presence of a negotiator<sup>1</sup> *Britannicianus*, of Treveran extraction, at Bordeaux. By the early third century special proof of direct connexion between York and Bordeaux is provided by the remarkable dedication<sup>2</sup> to Tutela Boudiga. This noble base was erected at Bordeaux by Marcus Aurelius Lunaris, a *sevir Augustalis* of the *coloniae* at York and Lincoln, after a sea-passage direct from York.<sup>3</sup> There is no doubt that Lunaris was a Briton, for not only is this *cognomen* rare<sup>4</sup> outside the province, but the epithet *boudiga*, conferred upon the Bordeaux Tutela, is also British,<sup>5</sup> best known in its form Boudicca, the name of the queen of the Iceni. Nor is the Roman citizenship of Lunaris likely to have been of long standing; for the *severi Augustales* were normally chosen<sup>6</sup> from among wealthy *liberti* or other newcomers to the citizen ranks, rather than from old-established families. Thus it is among the wealthy traders and contractors, centred in York as the capital of Britannia Inferior, that we are to seek the connexions of Lunaris. At least one other of his fellow citizens is also highly relevant to the present inquiry. This is Marcus Verecundius Diogenes,<sup>7</sup> also a *sevir Augustalis* and bearing a typically libertine name, who was by birth an Aquitanian, from among the Bituriges Cubi. The terse life-story implied by these facts is of a more permanent and no less significant move than that of Lunaris, since it speaks of the settlement at York of an Aquitanian who had become wealthy enough to rank as one of the prominent citizens of the *colonia* and built his tomb there before he died. There is thus more evidence than has been cited for the Aquitanian connexion among the mercantile community of Roman York; and, granted the connexion, there can be no doubt as to the produce involved. The staple trade of Aquitaine was its wine,<sup>8</sup> judged an excellent second-class beverage by the connoisseurs of the Roman world; and this export trade,<sup>9</sup> borne in *amphorae* or barrels, which travelled so much better by sea than by road, had in the British market one of its principal consumers. The trade connexion in wine, which seems debarred for Belgica, is thus established for Aquitania. There, too, the artistic motif which has prompted this side of the inquiry had a wider distribution than in the Moselle. Bordeaux, it is true, only exhibits two elegant *amorini* within acanthus scrolls.<sup>10</sup> But

a Roman colony, which, owing to its good position, had the biggest mart in those parts'. The 'good position' must refer to the rapid overland connexion through the gap of Carcassone.

<sup>1</sup> C.I.L. xiii, 634.

<sup>2</sup> J.R.S. xi, 101-7.

<sup>3</sup> *ab Eboraci avectus* says the stone, *ibid.* 102.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 103, note 6.

<sup>5</sup> Holder, *Alteltischer Sprachschatz*, i, 497. Cf. Lollia Bodica (C.I.L. viii, 2877), wife of a centurion who had served in all three British legions, and Bodiccus (C.I.L. iii, 3256), soldier in a British cohort. But the name also occurs in Celtiberia, as Boudica (C.I.L. ii, 455).

<sup>6</sup> Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, 134-7.

<sup>7</sup> C.I.L. vii, 248: Courteault, however, did not

note (J.R.S. xi, 103-4) that Diogenes was from the Bituriges Cubi. He prepared his tomb while still alive, so that the burial at York was no accident. For Diogenes as a libertine *cognomen* cf. Petronius, 38, C. Pompeius Diogenes.

<sup>8</sup> Columella, iii, 2, 19, 'possunt tamen etiam secundae notae vites proventu et ubertate commendari, qualis est Biturica': cf. Ausonius, *Ep.* ix, 18-21.

<sup>9</sup> The best evidence for the wine-trade with Aquitania is St. John Hope's statement (*Archaeologia*, lviii, 427) that Silchester produced 'wine-casks made of silver fir and strongly suggesting a trade with Bordeaux': cf. Sagot, *La Bretagne romaine*, 284, and West, *Roman Britain, the Objects of Trade*, 107, note 25.

<sup>10</sup> Esperandieu, *op. cit.* ii, 1207, 1211 (Bordeaux).

there is a fine marble sarcophagus<sup>1</sup> in the church of Belloc-Saint-Clémens (Gers), decorated with *amorini* gathering grapes into baskets. A block<sup>2</sup> from Le Puy, presumably from the carved surface of a monumental tomb, carries a similar scene. Périgueux and Bourges each boast<sup>3</sup> a fine pilaster of harvester *amorini* set amid vine-scrolls. It is thus evident that in Aquitaine, a province of sound wine and old-established viticulture, the classical motif of the grape-harvest, with its Bacchic meaning, found a somewhat wider echo than in Belgica. And it is easy to think, in view of the personal connexions among men of commerce proved to exist between Aquitaine and York, that the principal motif upon our candelabrum, with its intrinsic religious meaning, may have passed from the Mediterranean to Britain together with the Biturican wine.

How long the intercourse may have been established is not revealed by our evidence, which covers, so far as dating is possible, only the third century. But this is exactly the period of the candelabrum. It was also one of the peak periods of prosperity in York, when the *colonia* had become the capital<sup>4</sup> of the new province of Britannia Inferior and for a time the seat of the Severan court<sup>5</sup> and must have been attracting all kinds of new trades and enterprises. Quite apart from this, the Northern Command of the Sixth Legion, of which York was the seat,<sup>6</sup> would itself provide an attractive and steady market to enterprising traders who would make York their centre. Some trade was no doubt fluctuating and impermanent. But the wine-trade with Aquitaine must have continued one of the steadiest of all, whether in good brands for wealthy civilians and officers or in cheaper varieties for the army, of whose daily rations<sup>7</sup> it formed a part.

<sup>1</sup> Éspérandieu, *op. cit.* ii, 1057 (Belloc-Saint-Clémens).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii, 1669 (Le Puy).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii, 1296 (Périgueux), 1451 (Bourges).

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Ael.* 4th ser., xi, 131.

<sup>5</sup> The emperors were resident in York and giving rescripts from there on 4 May 210, see *Cod. Iust.* iii, 32, 1. *S.H.A. Severus*, 22, 7, mentions the *palatium* in the *civitas* whither Severus was going just before his death. This can hardly be anywhere else but York, and the *civitas* may well refer to the *colonia*

rather than the military fortress. For the *colonia* see *C.I.L.* vii, 247, 248, and *E.E.* iii, p. 123, 80.

<sup>6</sup> Ptol. *Geogr.* ii, 3, 10, 'Εβόρακον, λεγίων σ' νικηφόρος: *Itin. Anton.* 466, 1 (edn. Cuntz, p. 71).

<sup>7</sup> The wine was of a coarse kind called *posca*; see *S.H.A. Hadrian*, 10, 2, 'cibis etiam castrensibus in propatulo libenter utens, hoc est, larido, caseo et posca'. We may compare the 'vinegar' of the Gospel of St. John, xix, 29, which is the translation of the Vulgate *posca*.



## AN ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY AT WESTBERE, KENT

By R. F. JESSUP, F.S.A., *Local Secretary for Kent*

### INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of this paper is to record as far as is now possible the relics from a small but interesting Saxon cemetery which was found in 1931 during the working of a gravel pit in the parish of Westbere, some  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles north-east of Canterbury.

The cemetery came to the notice of a well-known Kentish antiquary, our Fellow the late Dr. A. Godfrey Ince of Sturry, when a local workman offered him an urn for sale, and it is entirely due to the doctor's energy in tracing the site, trying to secure its controlled excavation, and when that failed, in making such notes as he could of the day-to-day finds, that any sort of contemporary record exists. His notes, largely in the form of personal letters, were sent together with a series of small photographs to Mr. Reginald A. Smith of the British Museum and to Mr. E. T. Leeds of the Ashmolean Museum, and I am much indebted to Mr. T. D. Kendrick and to Mr. Leeds for allowing me to collate and use them unreservedly. Since their exhumation the finds themselves have had a not uneventful history. For a while they were stored in a neighbouring farm-house, where they were quite readily accessible to inquirers, but were subsequently removed by the landowner, the late Mr. Osborn Dan, who did not feel himself able to agree to their publication,<sup>1</sup> and they remained in his private collection until his death in 1942, when under the terms of his will part of the collection was bequeathed to the Royal Museum, Canterbury. Unfortunately some of the most interesting and impressive relics are not included in the bequest; for these there remain only Dr. Ince's brief notes and photographs, and the objects themselves cannot be traced. The material, however, was seen in its entirety and noted by me, with Mr. Dan's consent, as recently as 1937, but to complete the gloomy story, my notes were destroyed by enemy action in 1940.

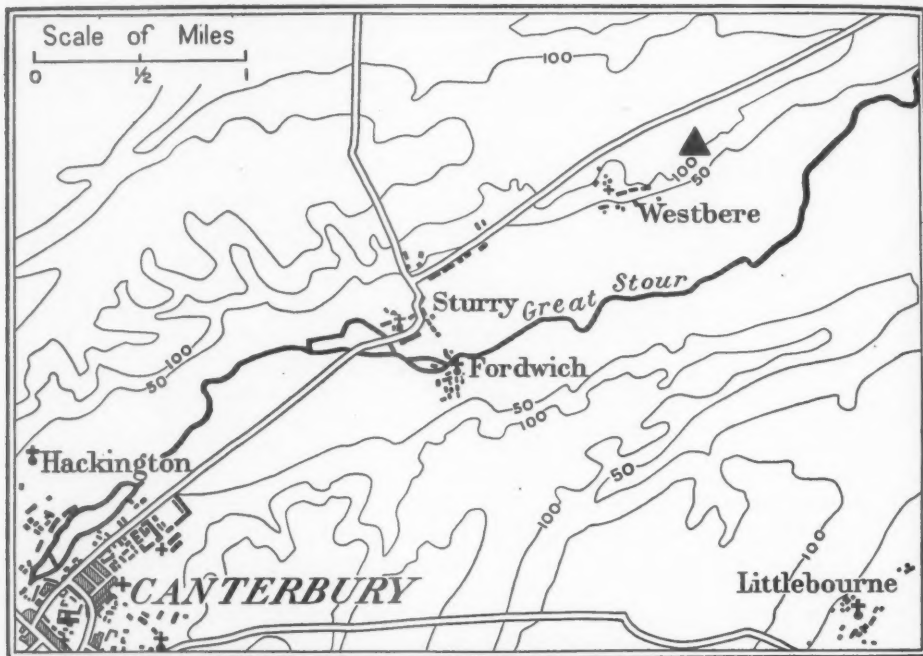
Mr. Kendrick and Mr. T. C. Lethbridge undertook a happy but fruitless search for further graves on the site some time after the discovery, and I have had the great advantage of being able to discuss the original finds with Mr. Kendrick, with Mr. Leeds, and with the late Dr. Ince. The foreman who was in charge of the gravel working has been good enough to answer many questions and to clear up several obscure points. Mr. L. G. Butcher most kindly granted every facility for the examination and photography of the material bequeathed to the Royal Museum, Canterbury, before it was put away in a place of safety.

<sup>1</sup> The cemetery is mentioned in Kendrick and Hawkes, *Arch. in England and Wales, 1914-1931* (1932), p. 306; *Arch. Cant.* xlv (1933), xliii; *Ant. Journ.* xiii (1933), 237; *Antiquity*, vii (1933), 451;

and dealt with rather more fully by Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936), pp. 43-4; and by Hodgkin, *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (2nd ed. 1939), I, 92, and Pl. 19.

## THE SITE

The gravel-working is on the south side of the Sturry–Ramsgate road, on the south side of Bushy Close Wood,  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile north-west of Hersden,<sup>1</sup> the latter name or its local variants of Hersing and Easden being sometimes used to describe it. According to place-name experts early variations of the name suggest an OE. base



## ▲ SITE OF SAXON CEMETERY.

FIG. 1. The neighbourhood of Westbere

here,<sup>2</sup> and the *Heresingas* were probably descendants, and perhaps not very remote, of a tribe who made the initial burials in the cemetery.

The Great Stour, which here begins to open into the wide marshy levels of Stourmouth, is flanked by low gravelly hills just over 100 ft. in height, and it is at the head of a small gully on the north bank well above flood-level in Saxon times that the cemetery was founded. The lower part of the Stour valley was but sparsely settled<sup>3</sup> in comparison with the neighbouring but higher land of Thanet and the

<sup>1</sup> 1-in. map War ed. Sheet 117A, 640796. 6-in. map, Kent, Sheet XXXVI, SW. The site is marked on the current edition of the 25-in. plan. War-time service requirements and enemy action have altered the configuration of the pit, which is now overgrown and abandoned.

<sup>2</sup> Wallenberg, *Place-Names of Kent* (Uppsala, 1934), p. 515. By Hasted's time the name had become Haseden (Hasted, *History of Kent*, 8vo ed. ix (1800), 69).

<sup>3</sup> A seventh-century barrow at Stodmarsh, a sixth-century burial at Hoath (*V.C.H. Kent*, 1

chalk downs east and south-east of Canterbury. There is likely to have been little clearance in the riverside thickets; the best agricultural holdings were inevitably on the higher and lighter land, and the winding river itself gave poor communication as against the Roman roads even in their supposedly neglected condition. Nevertheless, at a very early date a small band of Saxons intent on raiding and loot rather than settlement preferred the secluded river to the established roads and buried their dead under Hersden Hill within clear weather sight of Ebbsfleet. A similar preference guided the keels of their fellow-venturers into the waters of the lower Thames.

It is certain that any marauding band would have found spoil enough in the country-side around Canterbury. The Hersden people had made some sort of contact with the Roman world, as witness the pottery and the cut-glass bottle in their cemetery. There was, however, no building rubble such as is often found protecting the grave-deposits in early Saxon cemeteries, and it may well be that the plunder came not from Roman houses but from burials, a number of which not a mile away were made at the end of the fourth century.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE CEMETERY

A section exposed in the pit showed 8 in. of well-drained humus followed by 6-8 ft. of dirty gravel. By reason of its high acid content, this gravel had a very corrosive action on bone, on silver, and on bronze, so much so that in some graves everything had decayed. Agricultural operations had damaged many superficially placed pots, generally though not always cremation urns; and in view of the method of gravel 'punching' employed in this pit, it is indeed remarkable that so much material was found and preserved by the men in the normal course of their working.

In an area of some 160 ft. by 130 ft. worked intermittently over a period of about three months, there were counted between sixty and seventy burials. As is usual, the graves were placed with some precision in fairly regular lines, sometimes, it appeared, in rows of threes, but no constant spacing was observed, and no mounds were visible. The average depth of cremated burials was 1 ft. 6 in., of inhumations 3 ft. 6 in., and the latter graves where they could be seen in their entirety were about 7 ft. in length. No information exists as to orientation or the method of sepulture, and all that can be said is that the skeletons and grave-goods were not protected in any way. There are no reliable figures of the proportion of cremations to inhumations. The cremated burials were carelessly interred but, it is said, always placed with due regard to other burials, and it was Dr. Ince's well-considered opinion that the two rites were in use at the same time. He does not record any instances of burials by one rite disturbing those by the other.

Before we describe the finds in detail it is important that we consider the possibility of attempting to reconstruct the grave-groups, and here there are several matters to be taken into account. The pit-face was worked in strips of 4-5 ft. in depth, the rate of progress depending on the demand for gravel. No effort could be

(1908), 357, 385) and a burial with a silver sword the chief evidence.

pommel at Grove Ferry (*P.S.A.L.* xv, 178) are

<sup>1</sup> At Oaklands, *V.C.H. Kent*, iii (1932), 174.

made by the workmen to examine the burials other than cursorily, and although the graves were cleared out as far as possible as they were uncovered, it might be that part of a burial would be missed and not touched again until the return strip was dug. Then, to begin with, only whole and almost complete objects were saved, and it was not until Dr. Ince called attention to the importance of fragments that any pieces of glass or pottery were kept. Further, the doctor's letters, which are our chief authority, do little more than mention the date on which the objects of which he gives tantalizingly brief descriptions were found: hence it would be dangerous to assume that all objects recorded as found on the same day came from the same burial, or on the other hand that finds made on separate days were for that reason unassociated. With these reservations in mind, we may now make a catalogue of the relics, which will be prefaced by a conspectus of the dates of discovery and the reference numbers allocated by Dr. Ince in his letters to Mr. Smith.<sup>1</sup> These numbers are retained throughout the present paper.

## RELIC LIST

In the list following:

1. (*Not saved*) denotes that the object, so recorded by Dr. Ince, was not brought away by him, presumably because it was fragmentary or too fragile for transit.
2. (*Lost*) denotes that the object was recorded but not photographed by Dr. Ince, and that it was not saved or has become lost since 1931.
3. (*Lost*) denotes that the object was both recorded and photographed by Dr. Ince, and that its present whereabouts is unknown.
4. (C.M.) denotes the Osborn Dan Bequest to the Royal Museum, Canterbury.

1931

- 13 June. Urns, 1 and 2 (C.M.). Fragments of urn (*Not saved*).
- 15 June. Glass beaker, 3 (C.M.).
- 17 June. Glass tumbler, 4 (C.M.).
- 18 June. Glass tumbler, 5 (C.M.). Fish brooch, 6 (C.M.). Fragments of bronze bowl (*Lost*).
- 19 June. Bronze rings, iron axe-head, other iron work not further described (*Lost*).
- 25 June. Urn, 7 (C.M.). Pieces of handled urn (*Not saved*).
- 30 June. Glass beaker, 8 (C.M.). Portions of a glass vessel (*Lost*).
- 3 July. Round brooch, 9. Urns, 10, 11, 12 (all C.M.).
- 4 July. Urn, 14 (C.M.).
- 8 July. Rim and handle of small bronze-mounted bucket with wooden staves attached (*Lost*).
- 9 July. Head-plate of cruciform brooch, 13 (C.M.). Portion of a gilt bronze brooch (? C.M.).
- 10 July. Glass tumbler, 15 (C.M.).
- 11 July. Fragments of coarse urns, probably includes 16, and two bronze rings (*Lost*). Glass vessel rather damaged (*Lost*).
- 13 July. Fragments of urn containing burnt bones, 17 (*Lost*). Window-urn, 18 (*Lost*). Fragments of urn (*Not saved*).
- 17 July. Head-plate of bronze buckle (*Lost*).
- 24 July. Urn with burnt bones, 19 (*Lost*). Urn, 20 (*Lost*). Various sherds (*Not saved*).
- 27 July. Sword-blade with portion of wooden scabbard, 26 (*Lost*). Umbo of shield, axe-head, spear-head, 21 (*Lost*).

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that Dr. Ince used different reference numbers in his correspondence with Mr. Leeds.



- 30 July. Necklace, 22 (C.M.).  
 31 July. Necklaces, 22 (C.M. but one gold pendant lost).  
 6 Aug. Samian dish, 23 (Mrs. Dan).  
 7 Aug. Urns, 24 and 25 (Lost). Pieces of large urn (Lost).  
 8 Aug. Spear-head, 26 (Lost).  
 10 Aug. Glass bowl, 27 (Lost).  
 13 Aug. Glass bowl, 28 (C.M.).  
 15 Aug. Inscribed glass bowl, 29 (Lost). Gilt bronze buckle, 30 (Lost).  
 17 Aug. Urn, 31 (C.M.).  
 27 Aug. Sword blade in three pieces (Lost).

## CATALOGUE

## HUMAN REMAINS

All the skeletal material was in such poor condition that none of the bones could be removed from the gravel. No features of anatomical interest were seen by Dr. Ince.

## JEWELLERY

1. *Brooches*

Cast silver *fish brooch* with geometric decoration and garnet-set eye, fins (anal fin broken off), and tail. Part of catch-plate and pin-mounting remain on under side which is plain. A thick central spine prolonged to form the two cells of the tail divides the body into two empanelled sections of equal size, one of which contains a running-scroll design and the other geometric opposed hatching. The eye and mouth are emphasized by double lines, while the space above the mouth is filled by a running scroll. All this decoration is in chip-carving. L. 3.2 in. Pl. II, 6.

*Small round brooch* of silver with central flat garnet (missing) and three equidistant triangular-shaped garnets (one missing) underlaid with matted foil. Beaded flat rim standing above field. In the field poorly executed schematic animal figures in chip-carving. In bad condition, and broken. D. 1.1 in. Pl. v, 9.

Damaged head-plate of bronze *cruciform brooch*; side knobs flattened and detached, the knob shown separately in plate has been broken off since discovery. W. 2.7 in. Pl. v, 13.

There is no trace of the portion of a *gilt bronze brooch* found on 9 July unless it be the scrap of a silver gilt brooch with running-scroll design in the Dan Bequest.

Of these, the fish brooch is at once the most interesting. Its garnet work is competently done, the stones being well cut and underlaid with foil, but the chip-carving is of poor quality and altogether lacks the brightening refinement which would have been given by chasing. There is a certain and not unattractive reserve in the design, but it is as though the jeweller gave his best attention to the settings and for the rest filled a prescribed outline with convenient but commonplace geometric symbols. Such indeed might a jeweller of the best school of small square-headed brooch makers be tempted to do were he commissioned to make a 'portrait brooch' of a pike as a special order, given perhaps by a fisherman who wished in this way to commemorate his prowess with rod and net. Among the large number of fish and fish-like creatures represented in the trinkets of pagan Saxon art, there seems to be only one other which by its strongly characteristic body-shape and spatulate snout is undoubtedly a pike: that on a buckle from an Anglian inhumation cemetery at Foxton, Cambs. (Fox, *Arch. Cambs. Region* (1923), p. 259). Is it possible that both were made with the same purpose? The Westbere brooch has nothing in common with the brilliant continental fish-brooches of the Migration period where each scale is represented by a separate-celled jewel, and apart from the foils, it bears no resemblance to the well-known Kentish

jewels of the seventh century. Its closest parallel in many ways seems to be the foreign looking bird-brooch exemplified by, e.g., a pair from grave D3 in the Finglesham, Deal, cemetery. Both the running scroll and hatching are known on early saucer brooches, e.g. Linton Heath, Cambs. (Aberg, *Anglo-Saxons in England* (Uppsala, 1926), fig. 22 for the scroll, and a garnet inlay brooch from Ashendon, Bucks.; for the hatching (Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, iii (1915), pl. LVII, 5 and LVIII, 1).) It may be conjectured that our brooch was a product of the Low Countries and that it was worn by one of the earliest arrivals at Westbere.

The small round brooch with wedge-garnets is of a well-known type which would date from about the middle of the sixth century; and the cruciform brooch, judging from the section of its side knobs, would have been worn in the early part of the same century.

## 2. Buckle

Rectangular gilt bronze plate; central rectangular garnet and ground of two schematic animal figures bent at right angles. The plate is small and the oval iron buckle well developed. Pl. v, 30.

A 'Kentish' antiquity, see, for instance, an example from Gilton, Ash in *Inventorium Sepulchrale* (1856), p. xxix, fig. 3. Notable examples traded outside Kent come from East Anglia, and from the High Down, Worthing, cemetery.

## 3. Pendants and Beads

String of 52 beads, and another of 38 beads. The varieties included: (a) crystal toggle, faceted; (b) amber; (c) glass (clear, opaque, blue, green) annular, pearl and melon-shaped; (d) plain and variegated paste. Restrung since finding, and some beads now missing. Selection in pl. II, 22.

Necklace consisting of: (a) five drop-shaped amethyst beads; (b) small triangular gold pendant, looped, set with a white-spotted purple substance which may perhaps be a decayed mosaic of opaque glass; (c) small oval looped pendant of gold with flat sard or carnelian cabochon in beaded mount; (d) three gold bracteates, looped, type D; (e) small number of beads which include amber, variegated paste, and blown glass. Pl. II, 22.

The two strings of beads and the necklace were found in the same grave. The beads may be matched from many seventh-century Kentish cemeteries, and the small pendants, fully in the Kentish tradition (e.g. *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, (1856), p. 83, fig. 2 and pl. IV, 1, 2), would not date before the seventh century. It is possible to find an exact parallel for the bracteates in a seventh-century grave-find at Wingham, near Canterbury, which also included a handled bronze bowl (*V.C.H. Kent*, i (1908), 356).

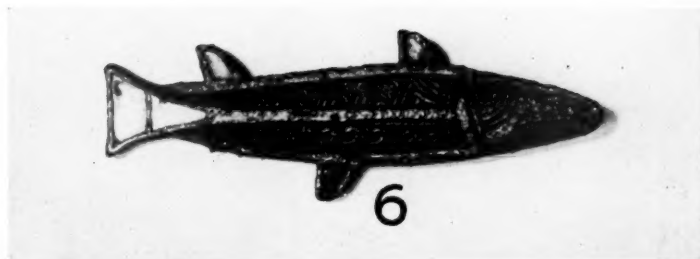
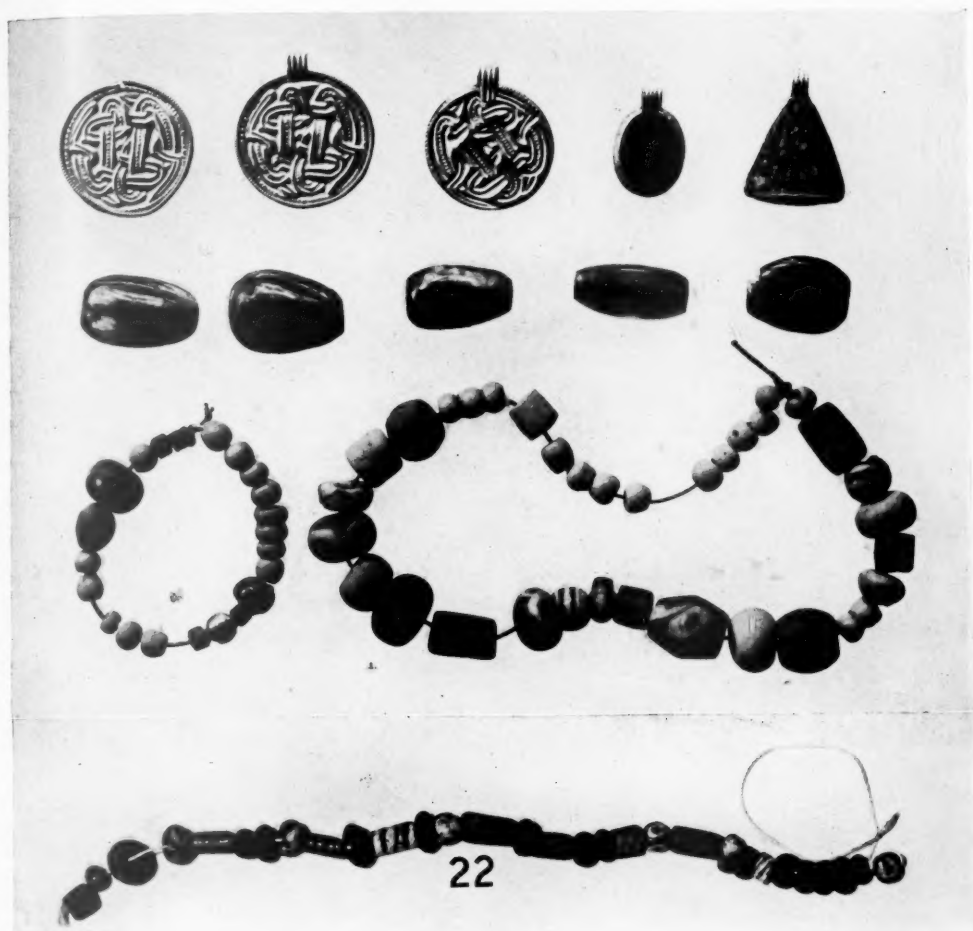
## 4. Rings

No information and not remembered by the workmen.

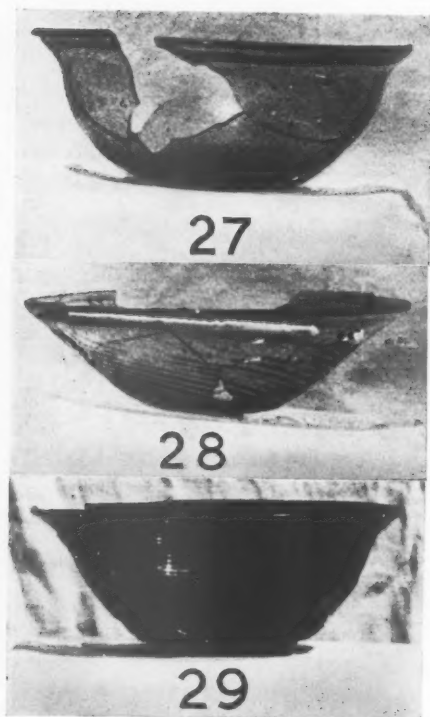
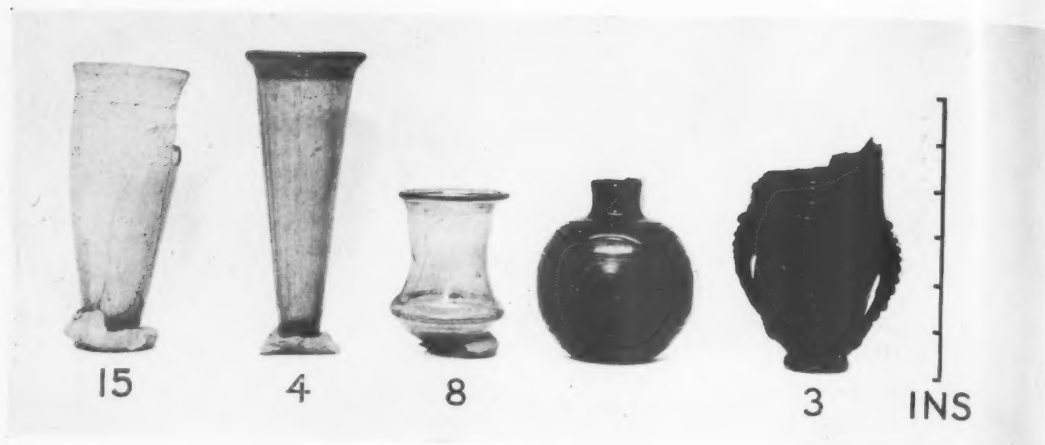
## BRONZE BOWL AND BUCKET

*Bowl.* No further record.

*Bucket.* One of the workmen adds to Dr. Ince's brief description: 'It was almost in powder except the wood which we thought was oak and it had like medals with it.' This is quite sufficient for us to recognize it as the same type of bucket as was found in a cremation cemetery at Higham, Kent (*Arch. Cant.* xviii (1909), p. xci; now in Rochester Museum). But bronze bucket mounts are often found in later inhumation cemeteries, and the plaque attachments are not in themselves evidence of an early date. Such buckets were normally placed at the head of the body, and in spite of Baldwin Brown's fears of 'parlous danger of leakage', no one has yet bettered Akerman's suggestion that they contained wine, a commodity highly prized among the Saxons and therefore deposited in a vessel of some value and merit.



Jewellery from Saxon cemetery at Westbere (approximately  $\frac{1}{2}$  except for lower string of beads)



Glassware from Saxon cemetery at Westbere. (For dimensions of 5, 27, 28, 29, see text)

## GLASS

*Claw-beaker*: slightly flared rim,<sup>1</sup> two rows of hollow lobes, four in each, with carelessly applied crimped fillets. Lobes attached to a plain central zone above and below which are wound spiral threads. Dark smoky brown, thin even glass full of air bubbles. H. when complete 6.5 in. Pl. III, 3.

*Conical vase*: round base, thickened outbent rim, vertical fluting and smoothed horizontal threads of opaque white glass under rim. Blue-green, tough glass full of air bubbles. H. 5.4 in. Pl. III, 4.

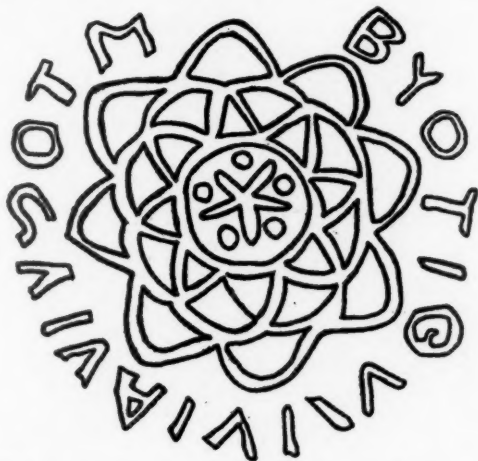


FIG. 2. Inscription and ornament on base of glass bowl from Saxon cemetery at Westbere (4)

*Funnel-shaped vase*: rounded base, expanded mouth; on upper part prominent spiral thread, on lower part long narrow petals of applied thread. Light green, good quality glass. H. 13 in. Pl. III, 5.

*Carinated tumbler*: concave sides, round base, thickened rim slightly outbent. Concentric smoothed threads of opaque glass on base and one under rim irregularly applied. Yellowish-green, poor quality glass. H. 3.2 in. Pl. III, 8.

*Tumbler*: round base, slightly convex sides, narrow band of applied thread under rim. Light green, smeary, and uneven glass. H. 5.7 in. Pl. III, 15.

*Deep bowl*: rounded base with smooth opaque threads, outbent and thickened rim with two ribs of applied thread. D. 5.55 in. Pl. III, 27.

*Shallow dish*: rounded base, thickened rim; base and sides decorated with smoothed applied thread in whorl pattern, and two threads of opaque glass under rim. Light green, thin good quality glass. Sixteen pieces of this dish can be identified in the Dan Bequest. D. 5.5 in. Pl. III, 28.

*Deep bowl*: rounded base, slightly outbent rim; zone of thin applied thread on side and probably under rim, and an applied inscription and decoration (Fig. 2. Traced from a letter from Dr. Ince to Mr. Smith) on the base. D. ? Pl. III, 29.

Although the inscription is literally meaningless, even if we try to read the letters from the inside as one would do with such an inscribed bowl, there is no doubt that it was intended for one

<sup>1</sup> It is pertinent to remark here that not all claw-beakers are of seventh-century date as Åberg suggested: those with flared rims belong to the close of

the fifth and to the sixth century. See Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936), pp. 50 and 76.



of the friendly 'good-health' salutations of which the Graeco-Roman world was fond. The best known example of such an inscription on Saxon glassware found in Britain is the unique vase in Worthing Museum from High Down, Sussex, which has a Greek inscription abraded on its neck, but exhortations in Greek are not rare in north-western Europe where we may confidently suppose the Westbere bowl was made. In the Rhineland and northern Gaul particularly, there were Syrian immigrants who carried on the glass industry in which they were acknowledged specialists, and there would have been every opportunity for a barbaric glass-worker to have made



FIG. 3. *Vas Diatretum*; inscribed goblet; round-bottomed cup. (After Behrens)

a reproduction of what he vaguely remembered of a good Latin or Greek inscription seen perhaps on one of the fine cut glasses of the fourth century. For there is little doubt that the *Vas Diatretum*, a masterpiece of late Roman glassware, was the maker's inspiration. In publishing a French goblet with a similar nonsense inscription and network in low relief on the base, Behrens<sup>1</sup> points out that the maker obviously knew these magnificent glasses with cut network produced by a difficult and complicated technical process, and tried by a method which was quite inadequate—that of mould-blowing to render low relief—to create an impression of the finely cut decoration and bold lettering. His bowl, and the prototype, are illustrated in fig. 3, where also may be seen the final stage of degeneration represented by a round-bottomed cup on which vertical ribbing is the last trace of network relief.

*Spherical bottle*: short stumpy neck, produced by grinding down a broken longer neck, and round bottom; body decorated with four series of vertical concentric and partly overlapping circles, and a series of five concentric horizontal circles, all produced by fine and accurate cutting. Fine light blue glass, mould blown. H. 4.25 in. Pl. III, not numbered.

This handsome bottle was not known to Dr. Ince, and is thought to have been taken away from the pit by Mr. Dan. Mr. Harden kindly writes the following note:

'The best reference I can find for dating purposes is a sarcophagus grave-group from Mainz published by Behrens in *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, xx/xxi, pp. 62 ff., fig. 10. Being a sarcophagus

<sup>1</sup> G. Behrens, *Germania*, Jahr xiii, 4 (1929), p. 195. For this reference I am indebted to Mr. D. B. Harden, F.S.A.

burial, this cannot be earlier than about mid-third century, and to judge from the ensemble of the group it is not much later than A.D. 300. See also *Niessen Cat.* (1911), Nos. 322 and 323 on plates v and xxiv respectively: the latter has vertical and horizontal circles like the Westbere flask; and A. Kisa, *Das Glas in Altertümer* (1908), figs. 236 (in V. and A. Museum), and 241 (Köln), the latter again with vertical and horizontal circles. But none of these are dated "externally" as far as I know, though Kisa's *ipse dixit* about fig. 241 is "first half third century" and this is a by no means improbable date.

'You will notice however that every one of the pieces I have cited has a narrowing at the base of the neck, whereas the Westbere flask is plainly curved. This may not be really significant, and I would be quite prepared to find that the next example I saw paralleled the Westbere one rather than these others. It is not necessarily a western type only, though I cannot at the moment place my finger on an eastern example.'

The Westbere cemetery thus adds considerably in interest and bulk to the already large amount of Saxon glass found in Kent. The peculiar distribution of Saxon glass in Britain makes it clear that the south-east was the chief diffusion centre of an import trade, a trade which had a firm beginning in the Roman period at a time when Britain had an extensive commercial connexion with the Rhineland, and a marked revival early in the sixth century when Frankish influence was beginning to make itself felt strongly in the culture of Kent.

#### POTTERY

It will be convenient to describe first the pottery which came to the Royal Museum, Canterbury, under the Osborn Dan Bequest. With the exception of 12 and 23, which are obviously Roman, all the pots are hand-made.

Complete wide-mouthed bowl; rounded base and short concave neck; two shallow grooves on neck, and bands of haphazard vertical and inclined grooved lines on the bulge. Dark grey, well-fired siliceous fabric, surface flaked and reddened by fire. H. 3.2 in. Pl. iv, 1.

Complete mis-shapen shouldered jar; wide mouth, short neck, rounded base; no decoration. Brownish-grey soft ware, roughly made. H. 3.8 in. Pl. iv, 2.

Damaged pot of globose form, most of neck and part of sides missing; tall neck, everted rim, flattened base; on the bulge wide vertical grooving in groups of three, below the neck two shallow incised lines, and between them a row of stamped circular depressions. Sandy grey clay, thin, well baked and finished. H. 5.2 in. Pl. iv, 7.

Incomplete mis-shapen pot of biconoid form; wide mouth, prominent hollow foot. On the bulge a row of incipient bosses made by pushing out the wall of the pot; over each boss a vertical panel of four shallow-grooved lines reaching to the foot. Four irregular shallow-grooved lines on neck. Gritty grey clay as no. 1. Reddened by fire. H. 4.1 in. Pl. iv, 10.

Complete mis-shapen pot of biconoid form; round bottom, thick rim, and marked carination. Decoration as in 10, but vertical lines are more widely spaced and carination takes the place of the incipient bosses. Gritty grey ware as in 1 and 10, and reddened and pitted by fire. H. 4.5 in. Pl. iv, 11.

Damaged barrel-shaped flagon with shallow 'one-step' neck. Several concentric wheel markings on the lower part. Light grey sandy clay, well fired. H. 8 in. Pl. iv, 12.

Cracked pot of globose form; round bottom (part missing), tall concave neck, out-turned rim. Two irregular shallow grooves at base of neck, and widely spaced four-line units of zigzag pattern on bulge. Fabric similar to 1, 10, and 11, but partly burnished. Reddened and pitted by fire. H. 5.8 in. Pl. iv, 14.

Cracked jar of ovoid form; flattened base, outbent thickened rim; on the upper part a zone of widely spaced vertical lines above a zone of zigzag pattern all pricked on by a hollow tube or stem. Dark grey ware similar to 1, 10, 11, and 14. Discoloured by fire. H. 7 in. Pl. iv, 31.

The remainder of the pottery is known from Dr. Ince's notes and, in some instances, by his photographs.

Nos. 16, 17, and 24 seem to have been pieces of pot only. No. 16 is described as similar to 25 (see below). No. 17, found just below the surface, is described as 'an urn containing burnt bones', and 24 as 'two portions of urn found just beneath the soil and associated with portions of at least two others. Might easily belong to Type 19 (see below) which contain calcined bones.'

A pot which was found close to the surface and contained burnt bones appears from the photograph to be a large undecorated globular urn of coarse fabric. It is very similar to urns from the Thames-side cremation cemetery at Northfleet, now in Maidstone Museum, and we may fairly assume that the other three or four urns were of the same general type and housed cremated bones. D. approx. 10 in. Not illustrated.

A much worn Samian cup, Dragendorf Form 33. Not illustrated.

The pieces of a handled urn found on 25th June are not further described.

Incomplete pot of biconical form with short neck and outbent rim; shallow grooves and incipient bosses on the greatest diameter. Described as 'the second of a special type of urn, viz., coarse pottery similar to no. 16, found just beneath the soil and associated with fragments of another urn apparently belonging to Type 24'. It is very likely, therefore, to have accompanied a cremation burial. D. 9.75 in. Not illustrated.

Incomplete beaker with high rounded shoulder, tall straight neck and wide mouth; the foot, which was thrown away because it was broken, was probably hollow as in 18 (below). At base of neck two carefully made wide shallow grooves; on the sides a series of ovoid hoops apparently in the same technique, and above the hoops a line of stamped rosettes. Well made and burnished. H. approx. 8 in. Pl. v, 20.

Beaker with high angular shoulder, straight sides, tall concave neck, and narrow moulded foot which contained 'a small irregular piece of green glass forming a window'. On the neck and body, applied narrow bands of crimping. H. approx. 6 in. Pl. v, 18.

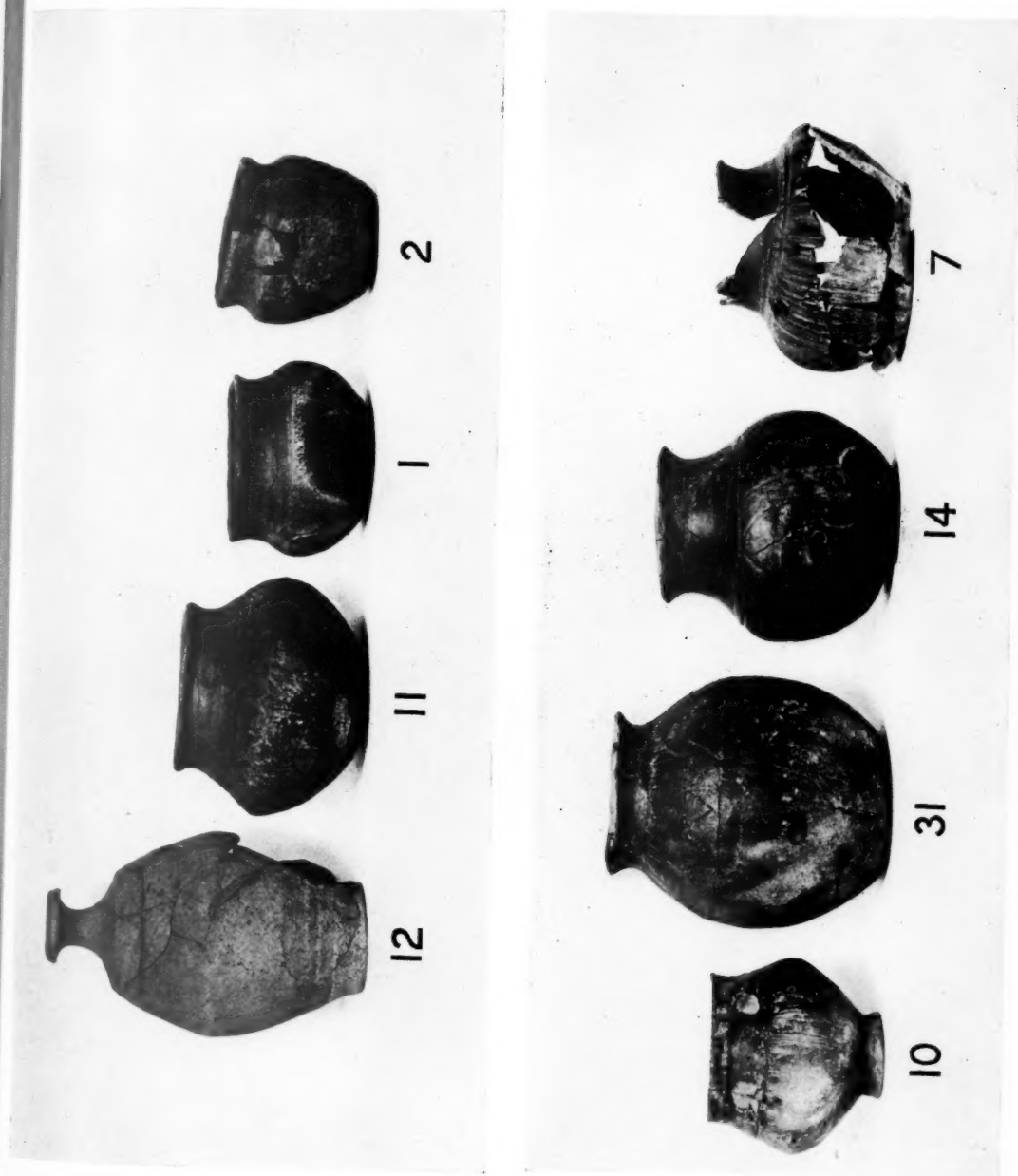
It may here be said that, in a letter to Mr. Leeds, Dr. Ince mentions three window-urns from this cemetery, though he gives particulars of one only. Mr. Kendrick noted three such urns in 1932, as did the writer in 1937.

In this interesting assemblage of pots, the value of which would have been immeasurably greater had it been recovered under proper supervision and retained intact, the presence of Roman vessels of late date such as 12<sup>1</sup> and the Samian cup need occasion no surprise. The remaining pots, if we omit 2 which is a poor little jar such as might be found in almost any pagan Saxon or Jutish cemetery, have a distinct Saxon appearance, and we might draw attention in particular to the bosses and moulded foot of 10, and the style and decoration of 1, 10, 11, and 14. There is not a single trait of the Jutish bottle vase among them. It has, however, long been recognized that urns of Saxon type do sometimes occur in the east Kent cemeteries, even in the otherwise late and exemplary cemetery at Sarre (Jessup, *Kent* (1930), p. 223, and examples in Liverpool Museum illustrated by Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936), pl. XIII).

A further point for comment is the very close similarity in the fabric of 1, 10, 11, 14, and 31, so close that it may be said that all were made of the same raw material and fired under similar conditions. The extraneous fire-markings strongly suggest that most of them were pots in current domestic use. Typologically the more angular forms should be earlier than those with rounded contours, but there are no outstanding angular forms in the group, and all would be found in northern Germany at the end of the fifth century.

A review of this catalogue shows that the pots with cremated remains were the plain globular

<sup>1</sup> A somewhat similar pot without a neck from Gilton, Ash, is illustrated in *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xlvii, fig. 3.



Pottery from Saxon cemetery at Westbere (4)



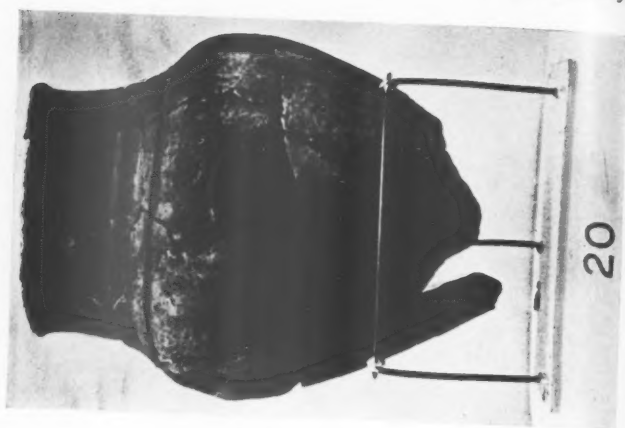
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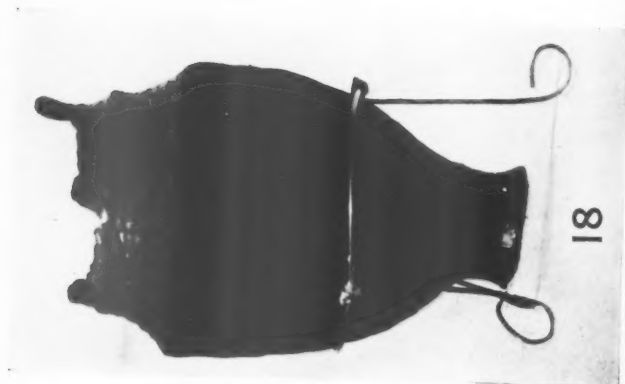
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18



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Jewellery, weapons, and pottery from Saxon cemetery at Westbury. (For dimensions see text)

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## AN ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY AT WESTBERE, KENT 21

forms represented by 17, 19, 24, and two others; the biconoid pots with incipient bosses, 16 and 25; and the window-urn, 18. Others for which there is no adequate record may, of course, have come from cremation burials, and it does not follow that the pots not listed here belonged to inhumations.

The established window-urn is the fifth and so far the most notable example of its kind recorded from Britain. Earlier discoveries are noted by Fox (*op cit.*, pp. 248-9), and in detail with the addition of the known continental urns by Roeder (*Die Sächsischen Fenstergefäße der Völkerwanderungszeit: Bericht der Rom.-Germ. Komm.*, 1928, p. 149), whose work has been fully commented upon by Leeds (*Antiq. Journ.* xiii (1933), 242). Such urns number about a dozen in all, and their distribution is restricted to Frisia and the Elbe-Weser mouths in Germany and to five riparian sites near the east and south-east coast of Britain. They are found in both cremation and inhumation cemeteries and none seem to be later in date than the end of the fifth century. There is no previous record of more than one in the same cemetery. Something could be made of the ritualistic significance of these curious urns, but there is in fact little remarkable about their associations in the burial, where it is known, or in their shape and decoration, though the Westbere beakers are in contrast with the bag-shaped pots which are a favourite form for fenestration. The glass inserts consisting of odd bits placed in position before firing are normally found in the base, though one German pot has a second window in the side, and it may be that they, like the equally peculiar spout-urns with which they are contemporary, represent nothing more than the specialized fancy of one particular group of potters in the Elbe-Weser region. That such pottery should be included in the possessions of the various elements in the confederacy of Saxons which made up the earliest arrivals in Britain is not in the least unexpected.

### WEAPONS

*Shield-boss*; iron, with flat disc. D. ? Pl. v, 21.

*Spear-head*; iron, leaf-shaped. L. ? Pl. v, 21.

*Axe-head*; iron, with haft at right angles to cutting edge. L. ? Pl. v, 21.

*Sword-blade*; iron, said to have portion of wooden scabbard attached. L. ?

*Spear-head*; iron, narrow leaf-shaped. L. ?

### CONCLUSIONS

In the story of this cemetery, so far as it may be based on a limited knowledge of its size, three phases may be distinguished.

There is clear evidence of the early settlement of a band of northerners, may be from Friesland or the mouth of the Ems, who brought with them their domestic pots and the cruciform brooch which can be securely dated early in the sixth century.

The second phase is marked by the wedge-garnet circular brooch (c. 550), and with it may be associated some of the glassware which came in with the extension of Frankish influence.

Lastly, with something of a gap, comes the group of seventh-century gold pendants, bracteates, and beads.

How far the original settlement may have been the representative of an ancient Fordwich, a recognized port of approach to Canterbury, or how closely it may have been associated with the Roman road from Reculver to Canterbury, are matters which may well be considered later in a more parochial setting.

## DENMARK AND EARLY ENGLAND

By E. THURLOW LEEDS., M.A., F.S.A.

ONE of the most impressive features of Scandinavian archaeology in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era is the wealth of gold which the three countries enjoyed during that period, more particularly Denmark and southern Sweden. About its source there can be little doubt, for it can hardly be regarded as other than deriving from direct subsidies bestowed by successive Roman emperors as deterrents to the restless tribes lying immediately beyond the frontier of the empire. Eventually it reached Scandinavia in the hands of tribes whose movement from south Russia constituted one of the streams which diffused the Gothic culture over a large part of Europe during the migration period.

Britain was not a participant in this great access of wealth. By the time the invasions into this country began, the flow of gold had almost ceased; the immigrants were for the most part land-hungry peasants who brought little with them and plundered any riches which the natives may still have possessed.

Nevertheless, we have evidence that a small trickle of the northern gold did reach these shores, and meagre though it was, it would seem to have a significance greater than perhaps has been appreciated and one that deserves closer examination than it has received.

I refer to the gold bracteates, looped uniface roundels embossed with human and zoomorphic designs of which examples have been found in Anglo-Saxon graves. Of these bracteates several hundreds are now preserved in Scandinavian museums alone; many more are scattered in other collections; numerous others must in the past have been found and melted down, and doubtless many still await discovery. The English specimens all told number twenty. I give a complete list, designated by the general categories, A, B, C, and D, of Montelius<sup>1</sup> rather than by the more minutiose classification of Salin<sup>2</sup> to which some do not exactly conform.

1. *Bifrons, Kent, grave 29*: four specimens, one B, three D, of which two from the same die are good examples of their class, while on the third the design has undergone disintegration. These were found along with a radiate, semicircular-headed brooch with straight-sided bow and foot, a rectangular buckle with shield-shaped butt on the tongue.<sup>3</sup>
2. *Bifrons, Kent, grave 63*: one D, showing signs of incipient disintegration of the design. Found with a large brooch (type not stated), bronze mounted bucket, bronze and iron rings, and iron diamond shaped ornaments.<sup>4</sup>
3. *Bifrons, Kent, grave 64* (a double grave): one D from the same die as that with the disintegrated design from grave 29, also with a spotted border, but without the radiating lines separating the spots. Found with a circular, garnet-set brooch, gold braid, crystal ball, iron dagger with bronze chain attached to the hilt, iron fragments, two square-headed brooches, and beads.<sup>5</sup>
4. *Sarre, Kent, grave 4*: six examples, all D; one similar to that from Bifrons, grave 63; one

<sup>1</sup> *Svenska Fornm.-fören:s Tidskr.* x, 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant. Tidskrift f. Sverige*, xiv, no. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Cantiana*, x, 309-10, fig. on p. 310.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xiii, 553.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

similar with incipient disintegration; three from one die with similar disintegrated design, but with the back outline of the animal's head acutely angled instead of curved; on the sixth, which has a wide border of triangles in place of the usual spots, the artificer has apparently attempted to interpret a bracteate with a similarly decomposed design, but has only succeeded in producing an unintelligible muddle. Found with two jewelled Kentish square-headed brooches, the one large, the other of medium size; perforated silver spoon with garnet cloisons on the shoulder; finger-ring of silver wire with spirally coiled bezel; two circular brooches with three wedge-garnets (class A); crystal ball in silver slings; glass vase; 140 beads, of which 133 amber.<sup>1</sup>

5. *Sarre, Kent, grave 90*: one of class D with the same design as the pair from Bifrons, grave 29, but better executed; the central design is framed by a border of trefoil-like stamps. Found with a bronze buckle, beads of amber and pale glass, and gold braid.<sup>2</sup>
6. *Faversham, Kent*: one of class A, an imitation of the obverse of an aureus of Constantine I. The legend is badly garbled; it has a frame of pseudo-plait filigree.<sup>3</sup>
7. *Finglesham, Kent grave D. 3*: three of class D, two small from same die, the design an even neater example of the simple version on that from Sarre, grave 90, with a plain raised border; one larger with a clumsy version of the same design, bordered by large spots. Found with a worn bronze square-headed brooch, a pair of radiate, semicircular-headed brooches with straight-sided foot, a pair of bird-brooches with garnet settings, a tinned bronze buckle, two shoe-shaped belt-rivets, and string of mixed amber and glass beads.<sup>4</sup>
8. *Oxford (St. Giles), Oxon.*: one of class A, with imitation of a helmeted Roman head of Constantinian type facing left; within a border of voided stars; the frame and loop are missing, below the position of the loops is a  $\Psi$  in applied filigree. On the left of the bust are the letters CO reversed.<sup>5</sup>
9. *Longbridge, Warwicks.*: one advanced example of class C, with a human head above the back of an animal, and above the head a bird. Border of spots and voided triangles with a dot at the apex. Found with a large, florid cruciform brooch (Åberg, group V) in a debased style and a silver fluted bracelet.<sup>6</sup>
10. *Market Overton, Rutland*: one, a late example of class C with the human head omitted; inner ring of spots, outer ring of voided, reversed chevrons with a dot at the apex.<sup>7</sup>

All have their close counterparts in one form or another in northern Europe, but the degree of resemblance varies very appreciably.

The earliest in point of style is the A bracteate from Oxford (pl. vi, 4). It well illustrates the stage of deterioration in the reproduction of Roman coin-types (cp. pl. vi, 1 & 2) which marks the early efforts of the northern artists. The Roman lettering still remains, but misunderstood and consequently mis-copied; already the craftsman has lost the faculty of presenting the face in the round without, however, feeling compelled to accentuate his work by contour-lines. As the coin on which the bracteate was modelled is probably a Constantinian piece of the fourth century,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* v, 310 ff., pl. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vi, 173.

<sup>3</sup> Burlington Fine Arts Club, *The Art of the Dark Ages in Europe*, 86, P. 31, pl. xvii.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Cantiana*, xli, 120-1; E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, 50, pl. xiv.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Plot, *Natural History of Oxfordshire*

(1705), 359 with figure; *Archaeologia*, lxi, 491, fig. 6; *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1855, p. 291, no. 32 and *Atlas* 32, where it is figured in reverse.

<sup>6</sup> *B.M. Guide (Anglo-Saxon)*, fig. 101; Åberg, *Anglo-Saxons in England*, fig. 87.

<sup>7</sup> *Archaeologia*, lxii, 488, fig. 3.

the Oxford copy can well be as early as the first part of the fifth century to which, and the late fourth, the A bracteates are normally assigned. No details of the discovery of the piece are known. It can even be a pre-invasion import, in that respect matching the finds in the Dyke Hills at Dorchester, Oxon.

Next comes the Faversham bracteate (pl. vi, 3), which falls into the same class with its distortion of a Roman coin-type and badly garbled legend. It is, however, a little doubtful whether this piece can rightly be claimed as of northern origin. Characteristic of Scandinavian bracteates is a frame of twisted wire, still retained on most of the examples found in England. As noted above, the Faversham bracteate is framed with a border of pseudo-plait filigree and this it would appear belongs to a rather later period, late sixth or seventh century, repeating itself in the decoration of some of the jewelled Kentish brooches.<sup>1</sup> The piece has been included here to complete the tale of bracteates akin to the Scandinavian groups, but possibly it is purely English work.

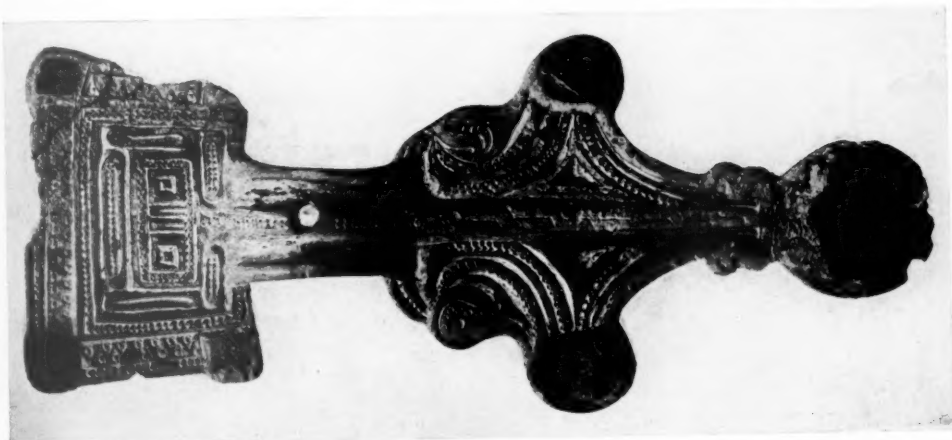
In regard, however, to the B bracteate from grave 29 at Bifrons (pl. vi, 5) no such doubts arise. To the fantastic attitude of the human figure the Continent can offer numerous parallels, so varied indeed that at times it is difficult to decide to which of Salin's two groups (III and IV) under which he collected some of Montelius's B bracteates they should be assigned. Behind these also lie a Roman prototype like coins of Crispus and other fourth-century issues with uplifted hands, but deviation from the original has gone so far that legs have been added. Some of the northern examples bear runes, and these are usually considered to be later than those without. The Bifrons bracteate has no runes; on the other hand, the legs are bent upwards as on the latest northern specimens, and the bull's eye circles in the field may be reminiscences of the prominently portrayed eye of the bird which appears on several examples in northern Europe. The Bifrons piece though crude in conception is neatly executed; yet it can hardly be an early example of its class and should probably be dated late in the fifth century. The curious attitude of astonishment which the uptilted head suggests is repeated on three bracteates (all from one die) in a hoard of eleven bracteates found in 1859 at Nebenstedt on the left bank of the Elbe about forty miles upstream from Hamburg.<sup>2</sup>

The great group of C bracteates is divided by Salin into no less than eleven classes, of which the more important have a territorial basis, Denmark, Denmark-Gotland, Gotland, southern Sweden, and Sweden-Norway, followed by others to which are allotted derivatives from the main classes. Although the group as a whole,

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Atlas for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 20, from an unknown site, probably S. Germany, imitations of coins of Mauricius Tiberius, as on the pendant (pl. 1, 4).

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen*, 1860, p. 391 *seq.*, Taf. 1, the pertinent portion of which is here reproduced as pl. vii. The eleven bracteates were distributed among several persons and museums, and two of them must have found their way into the hands of a Paris dealer, from whom they were acquired in 1866 by Sir John

Evans, their source being given as Scania (i.e. Skåne) or Denmark. In 1908 they were presented to the Ashmolean Museum (A.M. 1909, 824 and 825) by Sir Arthur Evans. Reference to the original publication in the only easily accessible copy in the University Library, Cambridge (for a transcript of which I am greatly indebted to Dr. F. Heichelheim), places the origin of the two bracteates beyond question. They (figured on pl. vii with black backgrounds) are identical with those figured as nos. 3 and 4 on the original plate.



Faversham, Kent



1. Unknown



2. Kent?



3. Faversham



4. Oxford



5. Bifrons, 29



6. Longbridge



7. Market Overton

Gold coin-pendants and northern bracteates from English sites: A, B, and C types





Gold bracteates from a hoard. Nebenstedt, Dannenberg, Hanover, 1859

like A and B, must derive from a Roman horseman, by the time the design has come to be translated on to bracteates by northern goldsmiths, little trace of its ancestry survives, except on the head of the rider where such details as the treatment of the hair betray their origin. At the end of the group falls a large number of pieces of quite inferior workmanship like that, for example, from Longbridge (pl. vi, 6) found with a cruciform brooch of an equally debased stage in the evolution of its kind. This is possibly the latest association in which any example of the bracteates of the classes covered by Montelius and Salin has occurred.

The Market Overton bracteate (pl. vi, 7) has a peculiar interest, as it belongs to a type in which the design is executed in a wood-carving technique and may for that reason have been struck on a wooden die. Unfortunately no details are available in regard to its association with other objects.

The majority of the bracteates found in England are of the D class and all come from Kentish graves (pl. viii). The type with its definitely stylized design is purely northern in origin and consequently its position relatively to the other classes is not easy to determine. Salin in his *Altgermanische Thierornamentik* assigns the better examples to his style I which coincides with the sixth century, and by reason of the interlacement of the design regards them as marking a stage in the development of zoomorphic ornament heralding the transition to a practice which is one of the characteristics of his style II. Taking this pronouncement for the moment as accepted, we must note only that it presents some difficulties, because, although opinions on the dating of the bracteates as a whole differ among Scandinavian archaeologists, there is a general agreement that their life does not extend beyond the sixth century. To that point we may return.

First of all it is necessary to ascertain with which northern specimens the British bracteates compare. To three from Bifrons (two from grave 29 and one from grave 90) and two from Finglesham very close parallels are known from Denmark, one associated at Nørre Hvam, Ringkjøbing Amt, N. Jutland (A. 190),<sup>1</sup> with eight of a closely allied type and a single specimen with a purely decorative pattern of circlets around a central spot, as well as with gold rings and scrap metal. Yet another (possibly five) formed part of a treasure found at Skonager, Ribe Amt, along with others of C class and fragments of a large silver-gilt brooch. All these D bracteates are as it were hall-marked by the presence of a kidney-shaped object immediately below the curved beak of the entwined animal. This object also occurs on another, on which the design is reversed, being turned to the right instead of to the left. Other examples are that from Nebenstedt mentioned above (one of four discovered), another in Berlin evidently from the same die,<sup>2</sup> and a much battered specimen in Copenhagen Museum. Yet another from Friesland has the kidney reversed. Others with head turned to the left but without the object in the front of the beak are known, three from Skodborg, Haderslev Amt, S. Jutland (M. I, 11).<sup>3</sup> An earlier stage in the design is provided by A. 171 from Allerslev, near Copenhagen, where the ribbon-like animal is arranged S-wise to fit the circle and only one leg is made to cross the body. The next stage of entwinement is seen on A. 176

<sup>1</sup> A. = *Atlas for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*.

<sup>2</sup> von Jenny, *Germanischer Schmuck*, 50, Taf. 49.

<sup>3</sup> This and similar abbreviations refer to O. Montelius, *Från Jernaldern*, Pts. I, II, and III (1869).

(Denmark?). The gradual process of dismemberment which always tends to appear in northern zoomorphic art, as it did on early British coins, is well illustrated by other bracteates from Kent. On one from Sarre 4 and one from Bifrons, grave 63 (device upside down), the beak has disappeared or has been absorbed into the coils into which the body has been transformed. These two can be closely paralleled by A. 193 from Snorup, Holbaek Amt, N. Jutland, and A. 194 from an unknown Danish source.

Three bracteates, all from one die, also from Sarre 4 mark yet another stage in the disintegration of the same design, but even on these there appears the kidney-shaped object, though here reversed, a good illustration of unintelligent copying, which as already noted has appeared on the example from Friesland. On the Sarre bracteates another feature that calls for notice is the angular outline of the head behind the eye and the introduction of a second head on the opposite side of the design, in this case furnished with a T-shaped outline that is one of the principal traits of ornament in style II. Such angular outlines, though uncommon, are not unknown from northern Europe, e.g. Skovsborg, Aarhus Amt, N. Jutland (A. 174) and Øvre Toyen, Akerhus Amt, Norway (M. III, 8). The latest of the whole group must be the unintelligible specimen also from Sarre 4, somewhat reminiscent of one from near Pentzlin, Mecklenburg (A. 90).

I am unable to cite examples from Denmark which exhibit their design in such disintegrated condition as appears on the Sarre bracteates, though disruption can already be observed in process on small bracteates from a Danish site, which unfortunately I cannot name. Neergaard (*Aarbøger*, 1915, p. 176) speaks, however, of bracteates found in 1902 at Torning Vesterhede between Viborg and Silkeborg, N. Jutland, with 'et meget opløst Dyrfigur', but they are not illustrated.

There are no adequate grounds for supposing that the English D pieces are not one and all imports; were it otherwise it would be curious that in Scandinavia and England alike the class should fade out so simultaneously. If that can be accepted, they have a special importance, because the English series serves to link up with those found in Denmark where the possibilities of dating are almost confined to stylistic considerations. In England at any rate there is a background of historical evidence against which one can build, the recorded date of the invasion of Kent on the one hand and on the other the seventh-century grave at Sarre with coins which in conjunction with other evidence permits of a date of  $\pm$  A.D. 630. Within these limits Kent has produced a large number of graves which can be typologically arranged, and of them two, Bifrons 29 and Sarre 4, contained objects for which a sixth-century date can be accepted. The time of deposition always demands the allowance of some margin, but the material is so abundant that it must be admitted that most if not all the finds represent the personal and contemporary jewellery of the wearer. For, unless it is definitely stated that the buried woman was aged, it can also be accepted that the jewellery is of the wearer's generation, and *that* not long-lived, because it is notorious that old people in Anglo-Saxon graves are quite uncommon. Where they have been found, their associated gear hardly ever fails to confirm the validity of the archaeological basis of chronology. We need not then place grave 4 at Sarre later than the third quarter of the sixth century, so that the



Finglesham  
(2)



Bifrons, 29  
(2)



Sarre, 90



Finglesham



Sarre, 4



Bifrons, 63



Bifrons, 29



Bifrons, 64



Sarre, 4



Sarre, 4  
(3)



Sarre, 4

Northern gold bracteates from English sites: D type

a  
2  
f  
f  
o  
g  
o  
s  
l  
o



acquisition of the bracteates can have been as early as 550, while those from Bifrons 29, 63, and 90 stylistically antedating the Sarre 4 group can go back well into the first half of the sixth century.

Two interesting inferences emerge from this examination of the material. In the first place there would seem to be ample justification for Lindqvist's early dating of some D bracteates, and at the same time an indication not necessarily that Salin's general dating of style I is incorrect, but rather that the decoration of bracteates was essentially *sui generis*, the form of the jewel naturally leading to an enlacement of a serpentine design before the forms of zoomorphic ornament in general were affected by the tendency which is such a special feature of style II.<sup>1</sup> The bracteates therefore can well be earlier than might otherwise be imagined.

Secondly, the presence of these bracteates in Kent attests some contact with Denmark in the first part of the sixth century, though whether direct or indirect is not quite certain, because some bracteates clearly of Danish origin have been found in Friesland,<sup>2</sup> among them an A bracteate not unlike the Oxford piece, a D bracteate, as already noted, of a type common in north Jutland<sup>3</sup> and also found in Kent, and another of the same class for which parallels can be cited from Jutland and in one of the Sarre 4 pieces. It may be, as Boeles suggests, that Friesland was a half-way house in their diffusion, but it may also be argued that they reached England directly.

This leads to a general consideration of the position in Denmark during the period preceding and corresponding with the main wave of invasion of this country, roughly speaking between A.D. 450 and 525, by which latter date the settlement had been widely consummated, certainly so far as concerns the areas in which bracteates have been found. The great period of northern wealth lies in the fifth century, when gold was pouring into the north in almost incredible quantity. To take Denmark alone, in 1915 Neergaard was able to make the following count:

	<i>Sjaelland</i>	<i>Fyn</i>	<i>Bornholm</i>	<i>Laaland and Falster</i>	<i>N. Jutland</i>	<i>S. Jutland</i>
Gold finds. . .	70	70	45	13	90	12
Bracteates . .	42	32	3	3	130	20

He only records six bracteates in Holstein.

Some of these finds contained very large amounts of gold; a total of 4,153 grammes is recorded for one hoard from Broholm, Fyn.<sup>4</sup> Though many consist mainly of bracteates, the greater weight of metal is supplied by torcs, bracelets, ring-money, scrap from the breaking up of the above objects, and ingots doubtless made from such scrap.

The distribution calls for some comment, since the high proportion for the

<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that the frilled head which appears on the specimen from Sarre, grave 90, is also to be seen on many D bracteates from Denmark, among them examples from the Skovborg find (see remarks on p. 26), and again on a scabbard-chape from Sjööröd, about the date of which Åberg expresses

himself in most decided manner (*Den Nordiska Folkvandrings tidens Kronologi*, 17, fig. 45).

<sup>2</sup> P. C. J. A. Boeles, *Friesland tot den eelfde Eeuw*, 179, pl. xxxix.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 4.

<sup>4</sup> F. Sehested, *Fortidsminder og Oldsager fra Egnen om Broholm*, 199, pls. xli-xliv.

island of Bornholm is largely made up of finds of imported late Roman *solidi*, of which the islands of Öland and Gotland also have produced large numbers, as compared with Denmark 14, rest of Sweden 71 (69 in Skåne), Norway only 1.

A count of bracteates from Germany is not easy to make owing to the lack of anything approaching a comprehensive survey of north German archaeological material during the period in question. Some like those from Coslin, Pomerania, and others of uncertain locality recorded in the *Atlas* (93 and 113) are certainly Danish, as are those from Nebenstedt, Hanover.<sup>1</sup> Some pieces from Mecklenburg are but poor imitations. As Neergaard justly remarks, the centre of Danish productivity appears to lie in north Jutland; he expressly comments on the diminishing number found south of the Kongeaa in south Jutland and still smaller in Holstein. It is to north Jutland that the English bracteates can be traced.

It is to be observed that the richest of the gold finds belong to a period before Salin's style I comes into full blossom, that is before the close of the fifth century, for he does not include the great gold triple-ringed collars within his survey of that style, but treats them as antecedent to it.

As a supplement Janse's<sup>2</sup> figures in 1922 of the distribution of the various bracteate types may here be added:

	Sweden	Denmark	Norway	Hanover
A.	5	21	7	—
B.	12	38	6	3
	(Janse does not separate Salin's three subdivisions)			
C.	105	85	64	—
D.	42	91	61	—

From these figures it is clear that Denmark shows a predominance in all classes except C, and even there its figure is quite high. In the B and D classes Sweden falls far behind. It appears that Sweden can claim to have originated the C class; she can show more early-looking pieces and certainly pieces of greater size and magnificence. She was, as the coin-evidence indicates, nearer the depots of gold shipments from the south. The B class has always been regarded as Danish, but it is again Sweden which can show the simplest examples of the D design.

There is another interesting observation which can be made here, though owing to present conditions I am unable to obtain any information later than Montelius's list of 1879 in *Från Jernaldern*. However, his list apparently comprises a major part of the known hoards of gold from Denmark and Sweden. From these it appears that where bracteates occur in the hoards they either belong to a single class, or, where associated, A and C are found together and similarly B and D. The exceptions are negligible and on examination it is always a late C that is found with D. Leaving aside Norway, which evidently was indebted to both Sweden and Denmark, it becomes clear that Denmark seems to have originated the bracteate-idea, based on Roman coin-types in classes A and B, while starting a little later

<sup>1</sup> Stephens, *Handbook of Old Northern Runic Monuments*, pp. 168-9, nos. 7-9.

<sup>2</sup> O. R. Janse, *Le travail de l'or en Suède à l'époque mérovingienne*, 83, 88, 104, and 110.

Sweden initiated the C class and subsequently introduced the D pattern, which eventually attains its widest vogue in Denmark and Norway.

In regard to the general dating of bracteates it must be borne in mind that the flow of gold to the north as represented by gold *solidi* ceases with issues of Anastasius (A.D. 491-518); Montelius in 1906 can only cite four of Justinus, Anastasius's successor. The great period of northern wealth was the fifth century, reflected in the oldest poems of the period, *Widsith* and *Beowulf*, portraying an age in which bards coupled heroic deeds with a splendour of wealth such as Scandinavia had never previously enjoyed and with the generosity which flowed from its possession. The latter poem, if it is true, includes mention of Hygelac the Chochilaichus of Gregory of Tours (*Gesta Regum Francorum*, iii, 3), who led an expedition from Denmark to Friesland c. A.D. 520 and fell there, but the whole background of the poems is folk-tradition of earlier times. The mere fact that so little of the northern gold found its way to Britain seems to call for some tightening up of the lower limit within which the bulk of the bracteates were produced to the first half of the sixth century, including any that have been found in this country.

In order to appreciate the significance of these finds it is desirable to review the archaeological position in Denmark not only during the period of the main invasion of Britain (roughly A.D. 450-525) but also that immediately preceding it.

Denmark as an archaeological province has always proved most productive. Throughout the ages from its earliest period it can show an amazing wealth of material right down to the Roman period, attesting the presence of man in active occupation in life and death alike. But an extraordinary change ensues during the following centuries. On the one hand, there is this wealth of gold almost all recovered from hoards or chance finds, and on the other a mere handful of grave-finds nearly all in north Jutland, these being normally one of the surest tests of a population, such as is the case for the period immediately preceding with its large cremation cemeteries like those of north Germany. In short, the evidence of man's presence is almost confined to gold. The difference is plainly demonstrated in the series of maps illustrating Brøndsted's fine work *Danmarks Oldtid*. The author fully appreciates the discrepancy and for the sixth century speaks of *Fyndknaphed*, a term which admirably sums up the situation. He argues, however, that the gold finds are sufficient to attest a considerable population, and that the absence of the usual signs of occupation must be due to some change in burial custom of which we at present know little. This is hardly credible. Even in England there is abundant evidence for a transition from cremation to inhumation. Why should Denmark claim for itself a large continuing population which contemporary north Germany similarly lacks? The gold finds do call for some explanation, but that they alone, without other adequate evidence, justify Brøndsted's total rejection of a theory of depopulation (*Affolkning*) seems open to question. Absolute depopulation in the sense of Bede's *Angulus desertus* may not have occurred throughout the length of the Jutish peninsula, but that something suspiciously like it happened, if only for a brief space, seems to be the only interpretation that can be placed upon the evidence, archaeological, linguistic, and literary alike, from which the picture of this period of Denmark's past can be reconstructed.

1. In the pre-Migration period there is evidence of a considerable population occupying the islands and the peninsula from the north as far as the Eider. From the beginning of the northern migration onwards, whatever may or may not have happened in the islands and northern Jutland, evidences of settled occupation in south Jutland as shown by maps of finds begin to diminish in a marked degree. Particularly is there a cessation of large cremation cemeteries, exactly as in north Germany, and this cessation in Denmark coincides with and may even to some extent begin earlier than the same event in north Germany. The phenomena in both regions are closely comparable. Taken by itself this evidence suggests a very considerable diminution of population.

2. There is no reason to believe that the complexion of the archaeological remains in Denmark at the beginning of the Migration period differed in any essentials from that of its neighbours in Slesvig-Holstein or south and west Norway. Throughout it is the same material culture as that exported to Britain. But, while in north Germany it disappears almost entirely at the moment it appears in Britain, and while in Norway it has a continuing life, amply exemplified by the *Vestlandske grave* and by finds in other parts of Norway which illustrate a cultural development not unlike our own, in Denmark conditions are somewhat different. For a time apparently not extending far beyond the first recorded migrations into Britain there is a small body of material which carries on the old traditions, but it is very meagre, sparsely distributed, and falls far short of anything which a country so widely occupied would have been expected to produce. This *Fyndknaphed* calls for explanation, and I do not feel that Brøndsted's interpretation meets the case. I shall venture to offer another, but, before doing so, must review the other evidence bearing upon the problem.

3. Although a very large proportion of the gold is associated with southern Sweden, the Danish islands, particularly Sjaelland and Fyn, as well as north Jutland received an important share of it. Where it has been transformed into ornaments and the like these present a markedly homogeneous character throughout, and what is more they can in the main be assigned to the fifth century, with only a slight extension into the sixth. Thus the great hoard from Broholm, Fyn, in addition to much broken metal contained torcs and other objects stamped with dot-filled crescents, which can be exactly paralleled from south Sweden and which Scandinavian archaeologists are generally agreed are to be dated to the latter part of the fifth century and possibly a little beyond.<sup>1</sup> By and large there is a most remarkable uniformity in the composition of these hoards. No hoard in which bracteates and coins are associated has produced coins later than Leo I (A.D. 457-74).

4. Turning to another side of the picture we find that a remarkable change has come over the country. For, whereas the preceding centuries are marked by large urn-fields with both rich and poorly furnished interments, these now disappear. In their place all that has been discovered is a small number of inhumation-graves, to judge from their contents those of the wealthier inhabitants. At the same time Engelhardt, writing in 1881,<sup>2</sup> maintains that cremation still persisted among the

<sup>1</sup> The slightly variant opinions about dating are usefully scheduled by Nils Åberg in *Den Folkvandrings- och dringstidens Kronologi*.

<sup>2</sup> *Aarbøger*, 1851, pp. 127 ff.



poorer folk. He also remarks on the evident development of a national metal industry to replace the imported material on which the inhabitants had relied before the fall of Rome and that this change makes itself evident about the year A.D. 500.

5. At the same time there is undoubted historical evidence that the original Denmark (Ptolemy's *Δαννίωτες*) was not situated in the islands or in Jutland, but in southern Sweden, and that eventually these people migrated to modern Denmark. That this process was gradual is likely enough, conditioned as it was by increasing pressure from the powerful Gothic element returning from south Russia. This is borne out by linguistic evidence of the introduction into the same area of a Germanic language quite distinct from that previously spoken in Jutland, but closely allied to those in the rest of Scandinavia. O. Bremer in *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme*, pp. 96-7, writes:

'Die seeländische Mundart steht in der Mitte zwischen der Mundart von Schonen, Halland, Blekinge und Bornholm einerseits und der jütischen Mundart andererseits. Die Unterschiede dieser drei dänischen Mundarten sind in der älteren Zeit grösser gewesen als später. Das lässt sich darauf schliessen, dass zur Zeit, als die Dänen Seeland, die andern Inseln und Jütland von Schonen aus besetzten, die Jüten eine besondere Mundart gesprochen haben, die von Dänischen stärker abwich als zur Zeit das Schwedische, mit andern Wörtern: dass es einen besonderen jütischen Stamm gegeben hat, der den Dänen botmässig wurde und der ethnographisch den Dänen ferner stand als diese den Schweden.'

Another point may be noted here in regard to the composition of the early language of Denmark. It seems to be agreed that the Angel from which some of the invaders started for Britain was more extensive than the small portion of the Jutish peninsula in which it is normally placed, and that it also comprised some of the Danish islands, and further that at one time an Anglian dialect was spoken even farther up the peninsula into Jutland proper. The original language, no matter what dialect it may have been, was at any rate supplanted in due course by that of the Danish colonists, until it embraced all the islands and the peninsula as far south as the Eider.

From these various aspects it seems possible to reconstruct the archaeological position. In the first place it becomes obvious that the great hoards of gold found in Denmark are those of the Danish incomers. Denmark itself apart from Bornholm has up to Janse's count in 1922 only yielded 22 fifth-century *solidi* as against 345 from Sweden and 113 from Bornholm.<sup>1</sup> Like these buried coins, the Danish hoards of manufactured articles can scarcely be regarded as votive-offerings, as Brøndsted holds. Surely they must be safety-deposits, earth being in those days the only strong-room on which man could reasonably rely. Most of the hoards appear to be goldsmiths' hoards with types of ornaments, some still intact, others cut up or melted down, and of types which at the time of deposit were passing out of fashion. Their deposit coincides well with a period of colonial settlement during the fifth century and extending into the sixth, but not far.

It is improbable that the Danes encountered serious opposition in their colonial expansion. Otherwise it would hardly have been possible for Saxo to record a

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* 14-15.



tradition that Dan and Angel were the founders and first rulers of the Danish people. This could only apply in the event of reasonably peaceful settlement and helps to explain the presence of non-Scandinavian speech side by side with Scandinavian on some of the bracteates.<sup>1</sup> There is in fact an extensive replacement of population. The older inhabitants have largely disappeared; they have emigrated, and when the archaeological evidence is reviewed against the background of that of history and linguistics, the absence of large urn-fields become perfectly intelligible. Here it must be noted that whereas in the pre-migration age the peninsula was thickly or well populated throughout its length, subsequent occupation was very largely restricted to north Jutland, and Bede could with truth state that *Angulus* still remained deserted unto his day.

That few bracteates have been found in England can only be explained by assuming that the Danish colonization did not become really effective in the peninsula until the tide of migration to Britain had already begun to fall; some small ripples still had to reach our shores and it was these which brought over the Kentish pieces. For those from other districts it is harder to judge.

The Kentish pieces are all Danish work, not Jutish or Anglian. That bracteates were made before the arrival of the Danes is not impossible, but the majority of the Danish bracteates must belong to the post-colonizing period and have been made from imported gold, for that the original inhabitants of the peninsula possessed much gold before the arrival of the Danes is extremely doubtful. The bracteates found in Kent are of types well known in Denmark; some are from dies such as have supplied numerous analogous specimens in Jutland, and these parallels come from the northern part of the peninsula. When it is held that the ancient Angel could not have contained the whole of the Anglian-speaking people, are we justified in supposing that the tiny area in south-west Slesvig and the adjacent islands supplied all the Jutish settlers who occupied eastern Kent, the Isle of Wight, and part of Hampshire? Is it not more probable that their language too was spoken farther up the peninsula which still bears their name?

All the Kentish bracteates except one, the leaping man, are of Montelius's D class. Salin assigned many of them on stylistic grounds to the latter part of the sixth century, as heralding the tendency to interlacement which characterizes his style II (A.D. 600-700), and in this Åberg apparently follows him. As, however, I have already pointed out, there are special considerations which would cause the introduction of interlacement naturally to appear on the bracteates at an earlier stage than on other objects. Moreover, the composition of the Kentish grave-finds has to be borne in mind. The English jewellery in the Sarre grave can hardly be dated later than 550, and the design on one or two of the bracteates has already reached an advanced stage of disintegration. There is much therefore to be said for Lindqvist's proposed retraction of the date of the D class, allowing even examples with interlaced animals to be assigned to the beginning of the sixth century, a view supported by Janse. This retraction is further strengthened by the Finglesham grave, where all three bracteates are of the Nørre Hvam type, though two are

<sup>1</sup> e.g. at Naesbjerg and Darum in western Jutland not far from Esbjerg; O. Bremer, *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme*, 102.

simpler, for the rest of the jewellery in no case dates beyond 550 and the oldest piece shows signs of long wear.

Confronted by what amounts to this incontestable evidence of direct intercourse with north Jutland, it becomes permissible to inquire whether, in spite of the predominantly Frankish facies of Kentish jewellery, there are not other evidences of this same intercourse in Kent.

Cremation, as is now recognized, was perhaps more widely practised in east Kent than I had believed in 1913. The cemetery at Westbere, near Sturry, though small is quite typical, and other cases have come to light. But it still remains true that it must have gone out of use very rapidly, much as it appears to have done in Denmark. Perhaps in both countries it was a case of *autres temps, autres mœurs*, burial having already come into practice among the incoming Danes. Fortunately for archaeology cremation was discontinued leaving a richer body of material for study. The cemeteries immediately around and east of Canterbury have yielded objects of doubtful origin, but I should like to suggest that the little group of brooches which Åberg collects together under his figures 138-41<sup>1</sup> could very well be imports from Denmark, a belief which seems to be strengthened by the Stodmarsh brooch (fig. 146) found in association with fig. 139. Surely the former brooch is, though not contemporaneous, a direct descendant of that from Kvarmløse, Jutland;<sup>2</sup> the design on the head-plate is identical, while the filigree scattered in this loose manner is closely comparable with that of the Elsehoved and Skodborg brooches.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Anglo-Saxons in England*, 82-3.

<sup>2</sup> Åberg, *Den Nordiska Folkvandringstiden Kronologi*, 12, fig. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Sehested, *op. cit.* 214, pl. XLVI, 19 a, and 214, fig. in text. Some ambiguity in regard to the date of these two brooches is introduced into Åberg's *Kronologi* (p. 38) by his reference to them in his description of a brooch from Nørre Tranders, Aalborg Amt, N. Jutland. This brooch he assigns to the seventh century. No actual date is given for the other two, but the natural inference is that he wishes to rank all three together, since he also draws attention to the trefoil-shaped knobs which they all possess. For his dating of the Nørre Tranders brooch Åberg relies particularly on one detail of external form, the use on each side of the foot of heads with curved beaks instead of gaping jaws. Apart from this feature there is nothing to prevent its being compared with brooches assigned by him to the late fourth and early fifth centuries, among which is one from Møllebakken, Bornholm (fig. 47), with the same beaked heads. Insistence on this feature alone furnishes a doubtful criterion, so long as nothing can be judged of what must have been the chief elements in the decoration owing to the entire loss of the cloisons or filigree ornament with which the surface of the brooch was originally filled. If I

have not misinterpreted Åberg, the feature on which he relies ranks poorly in comparison with all the other *known* qualities of the Elsehoved and Skodborg brooches, particularly the former on which there is among much filigree-work a little animal at each side of the head-plate. These can be closely paralleled with those on the great gold collar from Möne, Vestergötland (e.g. Salin. *Altgerm. Thierorn.*, figs. 501 and 502 a), which in turn retains in decadent form the splayed animal figure, also to be seen in similar guise on the Öland collar (*ibid.*, fig. 500), in purer form on that from Olleberg, Vestergötland, as also on the large silver brooch from Meilby, Aalborg Amt, N. Jutland (*Kronologi*, fig. 32). The collars are all deemed to be earlier than 500, antedating the full flowering of Salin's style I. With the Meilby brooch was associated a small cruciform brooch, which, if found in this country, would on Åberg's own reckoning be assigned to the middle or latter half of the fifth century. Included also in the Elsehoved find was a gold torc stamped with spot-filled half-moons, accepted by most Scandinavian archaeologists as not current beyond 550, and by some as generally earlier. It would be curious to deny to the owners of the wealth of gold represented in these hoards the possession of contemporary brooches of equal magnificence. There is, moreover, no evi-

A curious phenomenon in the archaeology of Denmark at this period is the dissimilarity in important respects to that of its neighbours. The Borgstedt cemetery in south Holstein must be regarded as a cemetery illustrating a stage which just overlaps many Anglian (in England) cemeteries where burial has begun to supplant cremation. It is, moreover, the only continental cemetery which has yielded cruciform brooches in any number and that small enough. Those known from Denmark are remarkably few, but the type does occur, an early example, perhaps the Kempston stage, associated with a large square-headed brooch dating between 450 and 500. Others of more advanced types, differing from similar brooches in England and Norway, are evidently of local fabric. Is it not inconceivable that, whereas at an earlier period no distinctions existed in the culture of the Jutish peninsula throughout its length, from the beginning of the migrations to Britain and shortly after we should be confronted with an entire transformation in the northern half? There exist all the indications that a common culture extending from the Elbe to far up the coast of Norway had by the end of the fifth century been severed by a flank attack from the east of a culture, not indeed dissimilar, but lacking certain characteristic types such as the cruciform brooch.

Actually it would appear that this infiltration had begun some time before A.D. 500 and had gained a firm foothold in north Jutland, particularly in Vendsyssel and Himmerland. At the same time it was perhaps not quite so peaceable a movement as the 'colonizing' idea would suggest. There is some archaeological evidence in support of this view:

1. The components of the fifth-century moor-finds are interpreted as the booty from forays by the native population of the peninsula consisting as they do of weapons and other miscellaneous gear. The later deposits are almost exclusively composed of weapons and so may result from conflict within the peninsula.
2. At various places on the east coast of Jutland running dikes facing eastwards point to strategical opposition to attack from that quarter, and, though in no case has their age apparently been closely determined, they may probably be connected with this period.
3. Brøndsted's informative distribution-maps show that the C bracteates are preponderantly associated with the islands, particularly Fyn; in Jutland they are found scattered along a belt stretching down the eastern half of the peninsula. The D bracteates show a more concentrated distribution in districts farther west, and in Denmark as a whole the type is largely confined to Jutland.

dence for the use of the distinctive trefoil knobs in any later period: they are the forerunners of the zoomorphically ornamented knobs of a large series of brooches both in Scandinavia and in England. Why, after all, should the Elsehoved brooch be divorced from the obvious date of the remainder of the hoard, when it contains seven *solidi*, looped for

suspension, the latest a coin of Anastasius (A.D. 491-518) and oval beads of spirally wound gold wire (cp. the loop on the Honorius coin-pendant, pl. I, 1) such as have been found in other similar hoards? The Stodmarsh brooch, it should be noted, has lateral heads (or pseudo-heads) of exactly the same shape as those on the Nørre Tranders example.

Evidently some change in population has taken place, and while there may be nothing remarkable about the small number of graves in north Jutland where the incoming Danes were conforming to a burial practice which had now become prevalent also in the islands and Sweden, it is hardly credible that the enormous cemeteries, largely cremation, and the richly furnished graves should all cease in an area where burial practice had for centuries, except for a more extensive use of inhumation, compared closely with those of north Germany. For there is no cessation when the immigrants reach Britain, whether they be Jutes, Angles, or Saxons.

It may not be possible to draw any far-reaching inferences from the little group of bracteates alone. A few emigrants might have had access to the supply, though it is at least noteworthy that it would appear to be conveniently stationed in those western centres of D bracteates in north and west Jutland.

There are other components of the English archaeological material that should be taken into consideration.

1. *Cruciform brooch*. A label which I read in the Prindsens Palast, Copenhagen, in 1909 stated that the cruciform brooches found in Denmark were to be regarded as having come up from the south, i.e. came from Anglian or Saxon sources. Is this justifiable? Even in the nearest source, Angel in south Slesvig, the number of cruciform brooches is really remarkably small. Considering that the type is well known in Norway where it persists for some time, it hardly seems fair to conclude that the type was not current also in Denmark. Actually quite a number has been discovered in Denmark from the mid-fifth-century example found at Meilby through forms with polyhedral knobs—a feature which Shetelig in 1906 noted as peculiar to Denmark and south Slesvig—to one which with its incipient lappets below the bow and curling nostrils on the animal-head foot could be paralleled in England. It is significant that eastern Kent has produced the most concentrated group of early specimens in this country.

2. Though the evidence is negative, a study of the small-long brooch in England has convinced me that the area usually allotted to the Anglian homeland cannot possibly have supplied the range of types necessary to have produced the wider range of derivatives in this country nor the widely dispersed settlers among whom the type was current.<sup>1</sup>

3. *Large square-headed brooch*. This type occupies an important place in the Anglo-Saxon jewel-casket. It is known in every single area occupied up to the middle of the seventh century. Some, not all, of the Kentish examples are Frankish in origin and style. There are a few from that district which have no affinities with Frankish work. Elsewhere they are to be found in Sussex, Wessex, East Anglia, and the midland counties from Cambridgeshire to Warwickshire, and northwards, though more sporadically, to Yorkshire. Whence did the settlers derive their initial taste for this form? Certainly not from north Germany. I know of one small example from Ditmarsh,<sup>2</sup> but none from Angel. The one source from which it can

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, xci, 1 ff.

one closely similar from East Prussia see Salin, fig.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Kemble, *Horae Ferales*, 212, pl. xviii, 133.  
4; von Ledebur, *Königl. Museum*, p. 7, tab. 1; for

have been inspired is Denmark, north Jutland, and the islands; for we have little or no evidence of contact with Norway, the only other possible source; the absence in England of any occurrence of the very distinctive ceramic forms of western Norway is the crux. Åberg is disinclined to date any English brooch of this class before the middle of the sixth century.<sup>1</sup> He may be right; if neither Saxon nor Angle introduced the type, we must seek some later arrival from a different locality. It is recognized by Scandinavian archaeologists that the vertical median bar that occurs repeatedly<sup>2</sup> on English specimens was derived from Scandinavia. To take the most striking example, a brooch like that from Kvarmløse, Sjaelland, as Salin clearly discerned nearly forty years ago,<sup>3</sup> contains all the elements from



FIG. 1 a.



FIG. 1 b.

which the English variety I have named Kenninghall I, possibly the largest recognizable group, could well develop. Even the design on the head-plate is long echoed on English work. The Ipswich cemetery where the Kenninghall I type is best represented is as a coastal settlement of eastern England somewhat anomalous owing to the absence of cremation. It may also be noted here that among the rare non-Frankish square-headed brooches found in Kent is a good example that was acquired by Sir John Evans from the great cemetery in the King's Field at Faversham.<sup>4</sup>

In short, the course of events in the fifth and early sixth centuries in Denmark can well have strengthened the inducement, presented by the knowledge that Britain was open to invasion, to some of the original inhabitants of the peninsula to participate in the venture. That participation may not have been great, and need not except possibly in Kent have been quite early, but it appears to offer the only possible explanation for the introduction of some proportion at least of the cruciform brooches and some of the great square-headed brooches. By the same road the same impulses brought the bracteate

As a postscript to this essay it may be well to recall the thin silver bracteate (fig. 1a) found by Mortimer in Barrow C. 38 near Driffield, East Riding, Yorkshire

<sup>1</sup> *Franken und Westgoten*, 99, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Åberg's 'mehrere Englische Fibeln' (*loc. cit.*) in this connexion is an understatement. Outside Kent those with the median bar as compared with those without number at least two to one.

<sup>3</sup> *Altgermanische Thierornamentik*, 145.

<sup>4</sup> Ashmolean Museum, 1909. 154. Among archaeological papers bequeathed by Sir Arthur Evans is a letter confirming the accuracy of the provenience of this brooch, which appeared to have gone astray from a large group otherwise confined to East Anglia and adjacent areas.



(*Forty Years*, etc., 210, pl. cii, 810). Most probably it was struck in this country, but the design, poor though it is, is beyond question imitated from that on a late example of the D class found at Skovsborg, Viborg Amt, Jutland (fig. 1 b).<sup>1</sup> Though not present on the Skovsborg bracteate, the 'fill-up' spots on the Driffeld piece carry on a practice common to several of the later varieties of the same class.<sup>2</sup> Contacts with western Denmark were thus even more widespread in early England than already suggested. May not migrants from that quarter have even discovered the Humber, as they assuredly did in a later age?

<sup>1</sup> *Atlas*, fig. 165; Herje Öberg, *Guldbrakteaterne från Nordens folksvandringstid*, 179, figs. 113 and 122.

<sup>2</sup> Particularly on bracteates from Kragelund, Stenholt, Viborg Amt (S. Müller, *Ordning*, 557).

# THE DIFFUSION AND DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF THE MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS OF THE IRISH SEA AND NORTH CHANNEL COASTLANDS

By MARGARET DAVIES, F.S.A.

## I. INTRODUCTION

THE areas which bound the Irish Sea and North Channel possess physical diversities which offered differing degrees of attraction to megalith building peoples. This paper attempts a discussion of those regional differences and of their influence on settlement and intercommunication during the centuries in which the different types of megalith were being built. The Irish Sea basin and its narrower northern strait are fringed by lands in which lie the major portion of our British megaliths. The main reason for this is to be found in the existence of marine highways along the Irish Sea and along the arms which it pushes into the land, and in the presence of connecting routes across the peninsulas which bound its bays.

The primary megalithic distributions of the Irish Sea are strictly peripheral. So too are those of Europe, i.e. they adjoin, though in a broader sense, the Mediterranean and Atlantic coastlands. The megaliths of western Britain are more closely linked with the main European centres of diffusion and have a closer relation to the primary megalithic forms than have those of Fox's Lowland Zone of England or those of north-east Scotland and the northern isles. The eastern groups may show the results of contacts with northern Europe across the narrow seas, but there is no single force to give them compactness of grouping, nor, for the most part, are the megaliths peripheral in eastern England, because the coastlands of the Lowland Zone would not be so attractive to mariners and workers in stone as were the regions of older and harder rock around the Irish Sea and North Channel.

The borderlands of the Irish Sea and its northern gateway formed a broad cultural province knit together by the sea just as were the English and north French shores of the Channel in the Middle and Late Bronze Age, and it may generally be stated that the megalith builders turned their backs on the high peaty moorlands and on the lowland forests of the interior and had their faces to the sea. Where they penetrated out of reach of the sea, their cult, as expressed in their tombs, shows degeneration as compared with that of the primary settlements near the coast which were exposed to cultural contacts and to the interchange of ideas with other mariners and with new incoming groups.

The earliest megalith builders were workers in stones which would split and cleave easily and take a fine polish. These stones and the finished products derived from them appear to have been the articles of coastwise trade and a source of wealth to groups who had settled near good outcrops. But the prime need of the people was food, and, now that they had come into cooler regions, clothing. For this reason they needed light naturally-drained soils which would support crops, but which, like the windswept hill-sides on which they pastured their sheep, were free

of dense forest. Against the forest they had no better weapons than fire, the teeth of their grazing animals, and their ineffective axes of stone, and later, as their cult was decaying, metal. Fire is not always effective in humid areas, and browsing animals may prevent regeneration but do not destroy the larger forest trees. So the damp 'mixed-oak' woods of the clay-covered vales and valley slopes were usually avoided, and sands and gravels, drift-free rock outcrops, and coasts kept clear of forest by sea winds came into use for tillage, for herding, and for the supplementary fishing and hunting which had been the main features of the economy of their forefathers. And because the megalith builders were also sea traders and workers in stone, the greater concentrations of their tombs were near sheltered landings and outcrops of igneous rock. Quoting only from the eastern shores of the Irish Sea, it will be seen that these controls are very differently represented in, for example, the Lancashire or the north Cardiganshire, as compared with the Pembrokeshire coasts. There are many subdivisions within the Highland Zone, and this may be demonstrated by an examination of the diverse regional potentialities of the Irish Sea coastlands for purposes of colonization by megalith builders.

The term 'coastlands' is here broadly interpreted. For instance in Wales, which is but a great peninsula which pushes two horns into the Irish Sea, inland counties such as Radnor, Montgomery, and Brecknock have been included to give more continuity to the broken line of late megaliths which runs between the coastal counties of Flint and Glamorgan. The parts of Glamorgan and Brecknock which lie south-east of the Vale of Neath and the middle Usk valley have not been included because their megaliths belong to the distinct Severn-Cotswold province. The blunt peninsula which has the resistant Lake District Dome as its core is included, as are all its bounding plains and part of the way leading from the Eden valley into the North Riding whence its megalithic technique appears to have come, with centres in the Lowland Zone as the ultimate source. The megaliths of south-west Scotland are practically all south of the main watershed in Galloway and Dumfriesshire which have the mountain crest as their northern boundary. The best developed archipelago and peninsulas are those of the Clyde province, interpreted here as the area which fringes the North Channel on its northern side. The northern limit of the area investigated has been fixed at the Crinan isthmus. There are a few northerly outliers of the Clyde province cult outside this limit, but these are too widely scattered on the west Scottish coast, and too far north of the main concentrations, to be included. That part of Northern Ireland which lies between the basin of the Foyle and Dundalk Harbour includes Co. Londonderry, Tyrone, Antrim, Down, Monaghan, Armagh, and northern Louth. The inland limits have been drawn along the somewhat arbitrary lines of the modern county boundaries which in some cases run through megalith groupings. Along this interior line many of the megaliths show the results of their remoteness from the sea, and, while it is necessary to show the contrast between the coastal areas where the population and their ideas were frequently renewed and reorientated and the more isolated inland regions, no useful purpose would be served by carrying the investigation westward out of reach of influences from the eastern seaboard. The same reasons have governed the demarcation of the western limits throughout

Ireland, so that the remaining counties included are Meath, Dublin, Kildare, Wicklow, Kilkenny, Wexford, and eastern Co. Waterford. The inland boundaries of the area studied are shown by broken lines on fig. 1.

## 2. THE SEAWAYS AND THE VARYING POTENTIALITIES OF THE COASTLANDS

It is not always easy for us to visualize the dynamics and controls of megalithic settlement around the Irish Sea. Much of the lowland forest which covered the better sheltered coastlands and inland plains has disappeared. Although considerable peat formation preceded the Neolithic period, more was added in the Iron Age and later periods. The climate of the late megalithic period in particular appears to have been drier, as well as warmer, than that of the present day. Thus where the megaliths are of late date in the uplands away from the coast, areas of lighter drift on hill-sides which are now peat-covered may have been colonized. In Co. Tyrone, for example, many megaliths no doubt originally built on or near desiccated deposits of pre-Bronze Age peat have now been overwhelmed by later peat formation. Present-day methods of port construction and the requirements of modern ships have given artificial harbours having good communications with the main centres of population great advantages over the little natural anchorages used by early man. Nowadays a journey between southern England and eastern Ireland involves a rapid progress mainly by land, and not a leisurely skirting of the intricate shores of the English Channel, St. George's Channel, and the Irish Sea. The megalith builders and, later, the Celtic saints, seem to have preferred to travel the seas in their frail craft rather than encounter the hazards of long journeys across central Britain or any other region out of easy reach of the coast.

The first, and most of the later, megalith builders of western Britain and eastern Ireland came up the Irish Sea from the south, skirting the coast and rarely losing sight of land. Where there were strong tide races they seem to have made portages along isthmian routes. Fig. 1 shows in diagrammatic form the ingoing tidal currents with which they had to contend.<sup>1</sup> The outgoing currents are, generally speaking, similar in force and direction with a few minor exceptions, e.g. off the coast of south-eastern Ireland. It is probable that the tidal circulation of the Irish Sea basin has not seen any marked changes since megalithic times, as the configuration of the coasts has been only slightly altered since then. On fig. 1 only the greater developments of tidal eddies and whirlpools are indicated, as around Rathlin Island and Torr Head and off the headlands of Pembrokeshire and Llŷn. Similarly, only the more dangerous sandbanks such as those off the south-east Irish and Lancashire coasts which appear to have prevented ingress are shown. These tidal eddies and sandbanks, together with minor examples not indicated on the diagram, would soon be noted and avoided by men who travelled largely by sea. They would also learn to await favourable stages of the tide and so to use the strong tidal currents to their advantage. The utilization of certain currents may have varied in different periods of megalith building. Nevertheless, some impor-

<sup>1</sup> Compiled from the following Admiralty Pilots: *Irish Coast Pilot*, *West of England Pilot*, *West Scottish Coast Pilot*.

FIG 1. DIRECTIONS AND  
MAXIMUM SPEEDS OF SPRING  
TIDES (IN KNOTS).

COMPILED FROM ADMIRALTY PILOTS

● WHIRLPOLLS & EDDIES.    ▨ SANDBANKS.

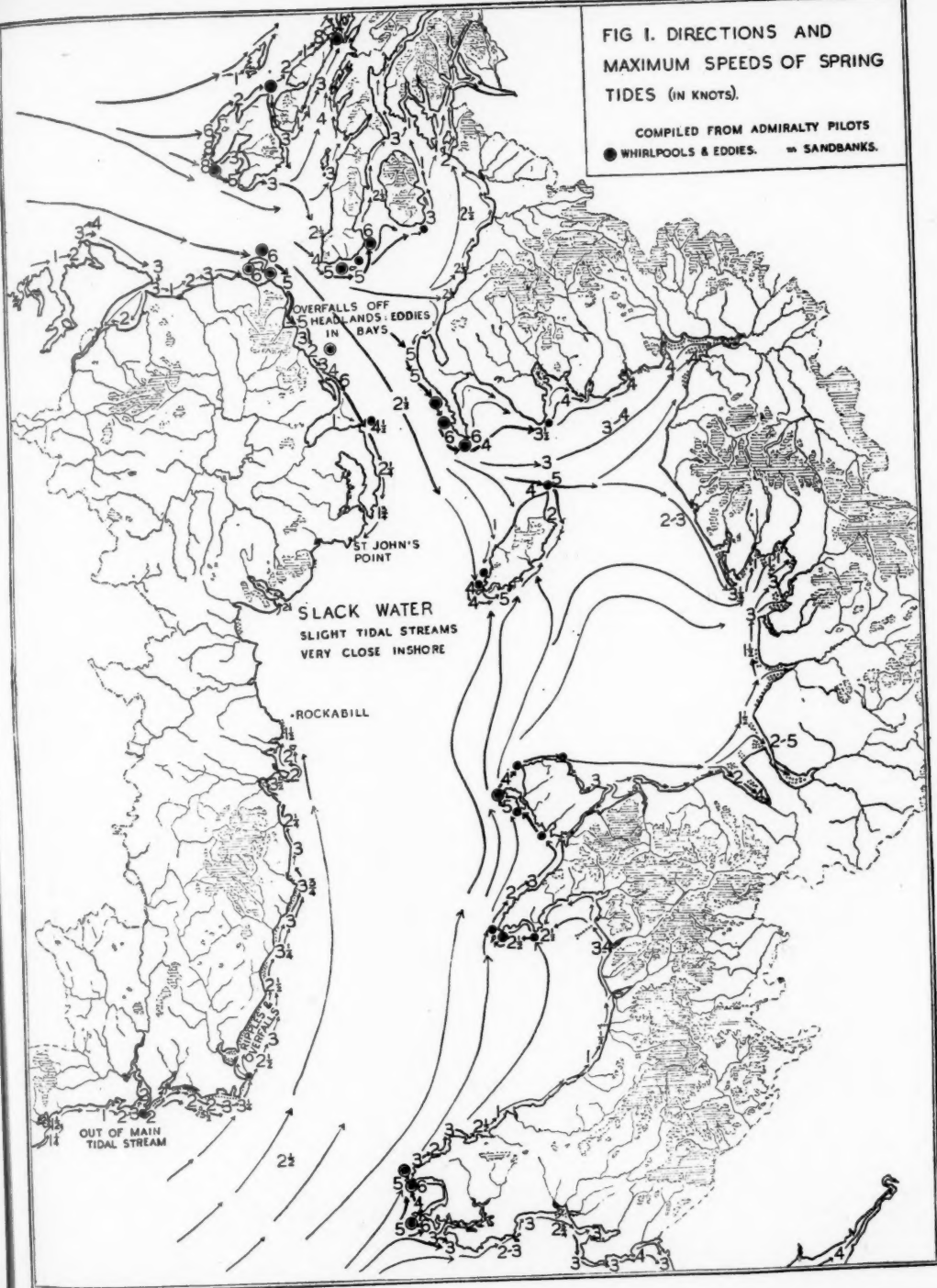


FIG. 1



tant features which either assisted or retarded sea voyages and settlement are demonstrated on fig. 1.

The southern ingoing current would carry small boats at a good speed past the Pembrokeshire coast and across Cardigan Bay towards Llŷn. Thus the inner side of Cardigan Bay, where strong winds but weak tidal currents sweep the coast, need not be navigated by men passing northward. The Straits of Menai could be used to avoid the tide races off the Skerries. On the south-west side of the Irish Sea the current comes in at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  knots and increases in speed until it is travelling at nearly 4 knots off Wicklow Head. North of this promontory there is a fairly rapid stream northward to and off Bray Head, and then a weakening of flow until slack water is reached off the coast of Meath. The northern incoming tide enters the Irish Sea through the narrow North Channel. It is here that the greatest speeds of tidal flow are attained. Here too, off Rathlin Island and Torr Head, are some of the greatest hazards to navigators. Much of the traffic along the North Channel, and this appears to have been considerable along the Antrim coast, was probably by land routes which used the raised beaches. Inshore along the Ards peninsula and the opposing Rhinns of Galloway the tide flows at 5 knots. On the Irish side it slackens more quickly as the channel opens into the Irish Sea, but off the Mull of Galloway it is still maintaining a strong 6-knot flow. This contrast appears to have influenced the routeways and settlements of the megalith builders. From the southern end of the North Channel, boats would be carried to and from the north-east coast of the Isle of Man or to and from the belt of slack water between Dundrum Bay, the coast of Meath, and the Isle of Man, i.e. into the sea whose branches fill the important harbours of Dundalk and Carlingford. There is no tidal stream in this part of the Irish Sea; the tide rises and falls without current.<sup>1</sup> Thus there is a belt of still water into which men could also come on the slackening current from the south, and this area which lacks a tidal flow was of great significance in that it helped to locate in Co. Meath and in the Dundalk-Carlingford area some of the most important primary and later megalithic colonies of the Irish Sea basin.

The coastlands which would be most readily visible on the early mariners' horizon would be those of the higher projecting arms of the land and those with higher mountains fringed by narrow plains, rather than low-lying coasts which might be nearer to the mariners' viewpoint. Experience must have shown that the windswept peninsulas would be largely forest-free, and that the coasts below the high mountains were usually strewn with boulders of suitably hard rock. These regions, unlike the forested lowlands, were therefore suitable for the practice of their self-sufficient economy and would provide material which might be traded. Thus as they pushed along the northern coast of Pembrokeshire they might see and set their course for the mountains of Merionethshire or the volcanic hills of Llŷn, avoiding as they went the head of the great intervening bay. So too they might land behind Holyhead Mountain, and from its summit on a clear day see the northern basin of the Irish Sea ringed as if with islands by the Wicklow Mountains, by the Mourne Mountains, by the mountain core of the Isle of Man,

<sup>1</sup> Exceptions to this statement include the  $2\frac{1}{2}$ - to 5-knot current through the Narrows at the entrance to Carlingford Lough, and that through the entrance to Strangford Lough which flows at 7 knots.

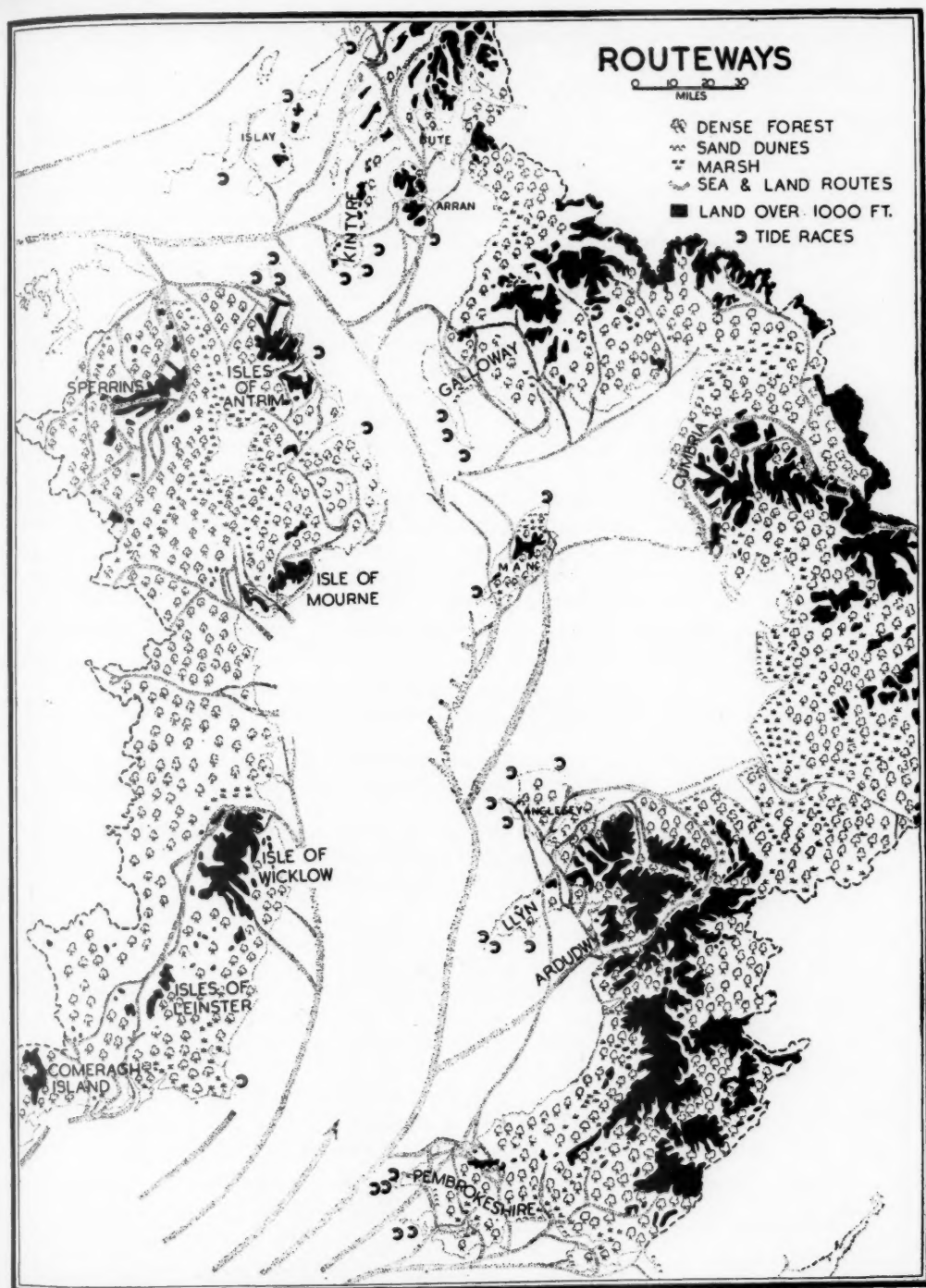


FIG. 2

and by the Lake District Fells. For these they might set sail uninquiring for the present as to the coasts which they would later find to link these 'islands'. In this way they would not come to know until later the dune coasts which in Lancashire and Cheshire fringe the head of the bay between Cumbria and Anglesey. Similarly, there was no immediate necessity to venture along the low Solway shores or, say, those of Wexford or the plain of central Ayrshire. The latter lies in the Clyde province where so many more attractive alternatives were visible around the borders of the North Channel. When the low-lying areas were eventually visited, the slow journey along the coast would usually fail to reveal good harbours and, if these were available at the mouths of navigable rivers, a short journey upstream would rapidly convince the voyagers that these ill-drained wooded lowlands were not desirable for their community.

As the population of their primary coastal settlements increased, either naturally or by an influx of new-comers, they would tend to take to their boats and push farther along the coasts or up the rivers, or they could go along the hill-sides or lowland gravel zones to settle on hills which projected from the forest cover. In time routeways would be established on the land as on the sea. Along the belts of country which served as lines of communication and trade the people would tend to settle, choosing everywhere regions of lighter soil for cultivation near to good hillside pastures for the sheep flocks. Fig. 2 illustrates the factors mentioned above.

If fig. 2 and 3 be examined in the light of these controls it will be seen that there are five classes of environment where the megaliths are more thickly clustered. These may be classified as follows:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Islands:                             | Anglesey, the Isle of Man, Arran, Bute, Islay.  |
| 2. Peninsulas and isthmuses:            | Pembrokeshire, Llŷn, Cumbria, Galloway, Kintyre.  |
| 3. 'Mountains rising from the sea':     | The Antrim Plateau, the Mourne-Carlingford Mts., the Wicklow Mts., the hills of Co. Waterford, the mountains of west Merionethshire or Ardudwy. |
| 4. 'Mountains rising from the forests': | The Sperrins of Co. Londonderry and Tyrone, the Carmarthenshire Black Mt., the Loughcrew Hills, Mt. Leinster.                                   |
| 5. Forest-free Contact Zones:           | The 'Shap Limestones', the Wicklow-Kildare-Carlow-Kilkenny gravels.   |

The areas where megaliths are scarce or absent are the low-lying coasts and marshy forested interiors of Lancashire and Cheshire, central Ayrshire, the Solway Firth, Lough Neagh, central Co. Dublin, south Wicklow and Wexford, and the coasts of west Wales between the Mawddach and Teifi estuaries, though here, especially in the north, the coasts may be low-lying but the interior shows a fairly rapid rise.

Fig. 3 shows the distribution of megaliths according to type.<sup>1</sup> Examination of this map reveals that of the five types of topographical unit under which the megalith concentrations have been grouped above, the islands and isthmian routes

<sup>1</sup> Groups of standing stones have not been included unless there is reliable documentary evidence that they are the remains of a more complex struc-

ture. A more detailed series of distribution maps will be found in *Antiq. Journ.* xxv, 1945, pp. 125-44.

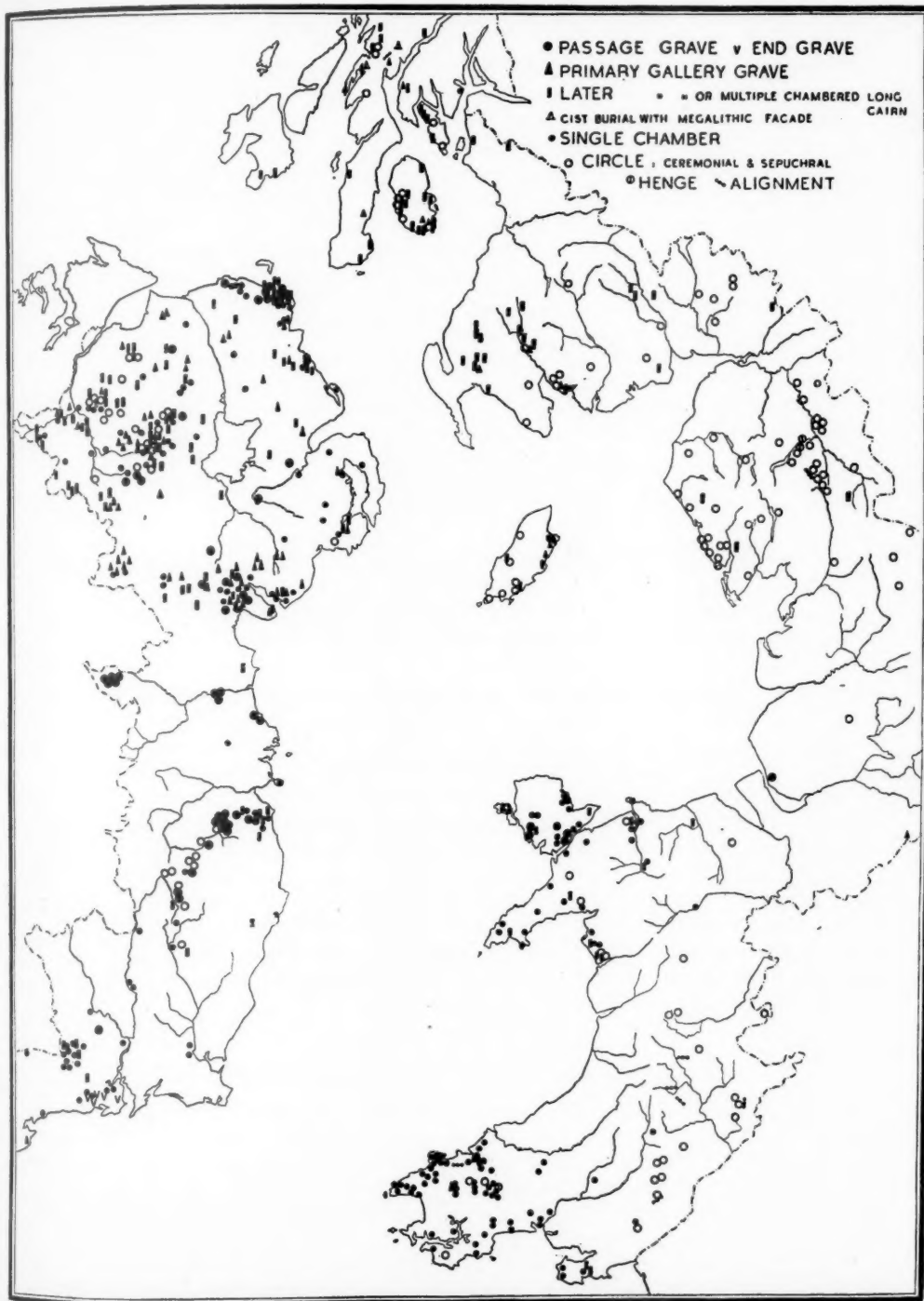


FIG. 3. Distribution of megaliths according to type

show greatest variety of pattern. As examples, the Isle of Man and Crinan isthmus may be cited. That considerable differences are to be found in Contact Zones is demonstrated by the megaliths spaced along the Shap limestones and culminating in the great 'henge' group south of Penrith and by the line of megaliths peripheral to the Wicklow Mountains. 'Mountains rising from the forests' (i.e. better drained 'islands' with more open tracts), if well inland, are apt to show many forms of degeneration in isolation, hence the large number of types which are found around the Sperrins, a total which is as high as that of any true island. Among the peninsulas those which are nearest to opposing coasts or are athwart straits where the trade routes converge into a narrower band or where they are obliged to leave the sea, have the greatest variety, e.g. the 'peninsula' of north-east Antrim. In the larger peninsulas the forelands may show little diversity, and one has to work inland to the isthmus in order to find this, e.g. in Pembrokeshire. A large-scale peninsula such as south-west Scotland, flanked by low coasts for the most part, and bounded on the north-west and south-east by forested lowlands remote from the main sea routes, may even show degeneration in its megaliths. 'Mountains rising from the sea' show variety around the seas which trench them, e.g. Dundalk Harbour and Carlingford Lough, but increasing uniformity as one passes inland from these primary centres.

It is obvious that there will be exceptions to these general rules and that no rigid classification can be made. We must allow for the special character of some communities and for the special significance of certain areas. For example, the passage-grave builders appear to have been an exclusive community with sufficient power and organization to control large areas around their primary settlements. Most of the passage graves were probably completed before single chambers began to be built. Thus we can see from the distribution map that the builders of the passage graves controlled the plain of Meath where the forests are broken by belts of gravel and by rock outcrops and where there are highways along navigable rivers. They appear also to have strongly influenced the colonization of the north Wicklow Mountains, Anglesey, and, in the case of a special group from Scilly and Cornwall, the east of Co. Waterford. We know also that the Preseli Hills, athwart the route across the Pembrokeshire isthmus, attracted, late in the era of megalith building, men from many communities who sought and carried Preseli blue-stone and who brought into Pembrokeshire their own fashions of burial and ceremonial. There is a 'henge' monument, *Meini Gwŷr*, south of the outcrop of Preseli blue-stone, and many blue-stone boulders lie in the country between the 'henge' and the *Carn Meini dolerites*.

### 3. PHYSICAL CONTROL OF DIFFUSION AND SETTLEMENT

With the exception of the most southerly fringes, all parts of the Irish Sea basin have lain under the Quaternary ice sheets. The heavy clays which they left cover wide stretches of both the uplands and lowlands of its margins. Except at the highest levels or on the steepest slopes most of the unshaded area on fig. 4 is, generally speaking, drift covered. The clayey drift associated with the ground





FIG. 4

X

moraines of the Irish Sea ice and with local sheets originating in the higher mountains around the basin was inimical to prehistoric settlement. But the glacial deposits which mark the farthest limits of the ice sheets, or the paths of the valley glaciers, or the retreat stages and melting of the ice, are of lighter textures. They take the form of belts of sand and gravel, and a comparison of fig. 3 and 4 shows that they exerted a vital influence on the spread of the megalith builders.

In Ireland the land ice moved from north-west to south-east. The Irish Sea ice impinged upon the east and north-east coast. In the north the land ice came up against the 'Tyrone Axis' formed by the Sperrins and their outliers and was canalized in breaks through the mountains which were themselves almost entirely overwhelmed.<sup>1</sup> These glacial channels were later deepened by melt-waters, and they and their outlets infilled with sandy outwash material which in Co. Tyrone particularly was the foci of megalith builders. Lateral moraines had the same function and no doubt served as routeways above the drift-filled valleys. The role of the outwash and morainic deposits is best seen in this area along the river Derg, along the Dromore-Draperstown trough, and along the southern face of the Fintona Hills. For example, in the second area 'The Murrins', i.e. the sandy hills west of Mullaghcarn; the Crockadun and Wolf Hills; and outwash masses round Lough Fea which lies west of Slieve Gallion, support the larger numbers of megaliths. The Seskilgreen group lies south of the Fintona Hills where there is much fluvio-glacial material from a great overflow channel which lies north-west of Augher. Melt waters have left widespread sands and gravels on the 700-800-foot plateau of south-east Tyrone. Evans<sup>2</sup> has noted this level as one favoured by megalith builders in Co. Tyrone, and its large total and variety of megalithic monuments have already been emphasized.

In its advance the ice sheet moved eastward across the broad trough occupied by Lough Neagh and the river Bann depositing ground moraine and, against the bounding hills, lines of morainic gravels. These great gravel mounds, e.g. those which provided sites for the builders of Dunloy and Craigs I and II, were utilized by the megalith builders of both sides of the trough and provided them with lines of communication distinct from, though parallel to, the line of the Bann river utilized by the Riverford people.<sup>3</sup> The basalts of Co. Antrim had been outpoured on to rocks which were already cleft into great blocks by the north-east to south-west lines associated in the British Isles with Caledonian earth movements. It is in these roughly parallel trenches that ice-scouring by both sea and land ice was most severe. Again it appears to have been along the lateral moraines that megalithic man travelled and the builders of gallery graves and single chambers settled on their way up from the coast. The passage-grave builders probably lived farther upslope; their cairns tended to be built on drift-free summits. In the south of Co. Antrim Watson<sup>4</sup> has noted that many megaliths are placed on the upper levels of the drift 'a thin stoney, warm soil' at this higher level. The utilization of morainic

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed study see A. R. Dwerryhouse, *Q.J.G.S.* lxxix, 1923, pp. 352-422. iii, 1937, pp. 283 ff.

<sup>2</sup> E. E. Evans, *I.N.J.* v, 1935, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> A group differentiated by Mahr. See *P.P.S.*

<sup>4</sup> Edward Watson, *U.J.A.* 3rd ser. iii, 1940, pp. 142-51.

## THE MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS OF THE IRISH SEA 49

gravels and outwash fans is further demonstrated on figs. 3 and 4 along the wide overflow channel now partly occupied by the Newry river, around the Mourne Mountains, and around the ranges which lie between Carlingford and Dundalk harbours. The megaliths of the northern Louth group on the borders of the passage-grave province are placed on slight elevations in the highly calcareous drift.

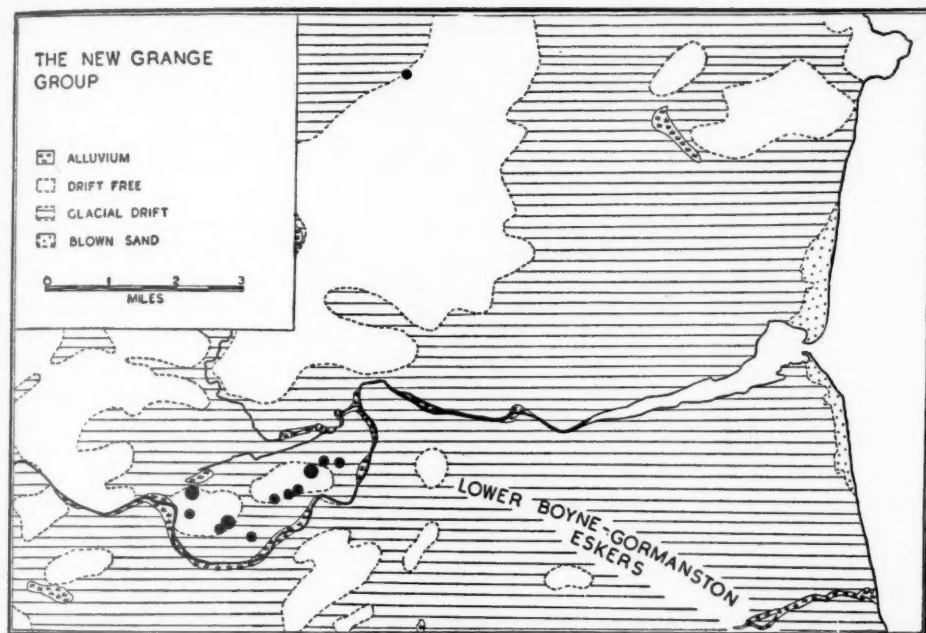


FIG. 5. The site of the New Grange group. Knowth, Dowth and New Grange are shown as larger circles.

The men who built the passage graves of east-central Ireland placed them on the few available hills where solid rock thrusts up out of the boulder clay. In the east of Co. Meath a belt of country with an average width of *c.* 15 miles inland from the coast is almost free of end-moraine deposits, but has widespread boulder clay from the ground moraine of the Irish Sea ice. Esker-like lines of sand break across this near the coast, notably near Castlebellingham, where one runs across the mouth of the river Dee. Narrow belts of sandy soil are also found west of Drogheda on the Boyne, and in a belt of country connecting the Gormanston neighbourhood, where the Knockingen and Bremore passage graves are situated, with the lower Boyne. Two ways of access through less densely forested land were thus available to New Grange, viz. the last-named and the route up the navigable Boyne (see fig. 5). South of Skerries the dune coast is backed by marshes and is likely to have repelled settlement and ingress. The New Grange sanctuary lies within a complex meander of the Boyne and is bounded on the north by the

broad swampy channel of an older course of the river which is still partly occupied by a small stream. Two rounded outcrops of millstone grit and shales are placed within the natural moat, and Knowth, New Grange, Dowth, and their subsidiary monuments are all placed on the edge of the solid rock above the encroachment of the thin spread of boulder clay.

The hills on which the Cornaville gallery grave and the Loughcrew passage graves are found acted as barriers to the south-eastward flowing ice and guided the divided ice streams around their flanks. The Silurian rocks of the Loughcrew Hills are free of glacial till above the 550-ft. level as a general rule, though in the north-west, where the greatest mass of ice was concentrated, boulder clay reaches 700 ft. All the hill-top cairns are above this maximum extension of the drift, though peat formation has occurred in the area since the passage graves were built. The Loughcrew people may have sown their crops on the thinner and lighter boulder clays of the middle hill slopes where they themselves lived, whilst on the crests they enshrined their dead and herded their sheep and cattle.

A great ice flow, mainly from the Irish Sea, came up against the Dublin and Wicklow Mountains from the north-east, and, together with a locally developed ice-cap, covered all but the highest summits and deposited boulder clay to great heights, especially in the northern portion of the chain. The hill-top passage graves are all above the boulder clay and the thin peat developed on granite outcrops (see fig. 6). The clays of the upper slopes which are impregnated with lime from the Central Plain and with granite debris, and which lie above the forest limit, would be available for settlement and agriculture. The gallery-grave builders appear to have again used gravels on the lower hill-sides. The ways into the mountains from the sea probably lay along the end-moraine of the Wicklow and Irish Sea ice. This moraine has been mapped by Charlesworth<sup>1</sup> and is shown on fig. 4. It forms a belt of sands and gravels which surrounds the Wicklow and Dublin Mountains and encroaches on their lower slopes. Subsidiary ridges line the overflow channels which dissect the hills; those of Glencree and the upper Dodder were probably the most significant routeways. The lower valley of the Liffey, though flanked at its mouth by sandy flats, would seem to have been a less favoured entry. It would open on to a plain with much swamp forest. The south-east Irish end-moraine carried megalithic man between the main Dublin and Wicklow foci and southward toward Co. Waterford, and along it different styles of tomb building were exchanged. Thus the colonization of the Wicklow Mountains is essentially peripheral in character, and stone circles and modifications of primary forms are characteristic because much of the moraine lies far from the sea. This line of relatively easy communication between areas where settlement was already well established was perhaps a 'pioneer fringe' in megalithic times.

The Clyde province is a region more deeply dissected by sea and ice than any other discussed here. Its shores have in addition the best developed raised beaches. Quaternary ice passed down the arms of the sea from collecting centres in the north, e.g. from the Moor of Rannoch, and outward from the mountains of Arran and those of Cowal in Argyll which had local sheets. The Loch Fyne ice stream

<sup>1</sup> J. K. Charlesworth, *Q.J.G.S.* lxxxiv, 1928, pp. 293-342.

split into branches which pushed over Kintyre and over Bute and Arran. The ice which was canalized by Loch Long and its branches sent one arm up the Clyde around the northern side of the Renfrew Hills, and a second followed the south-

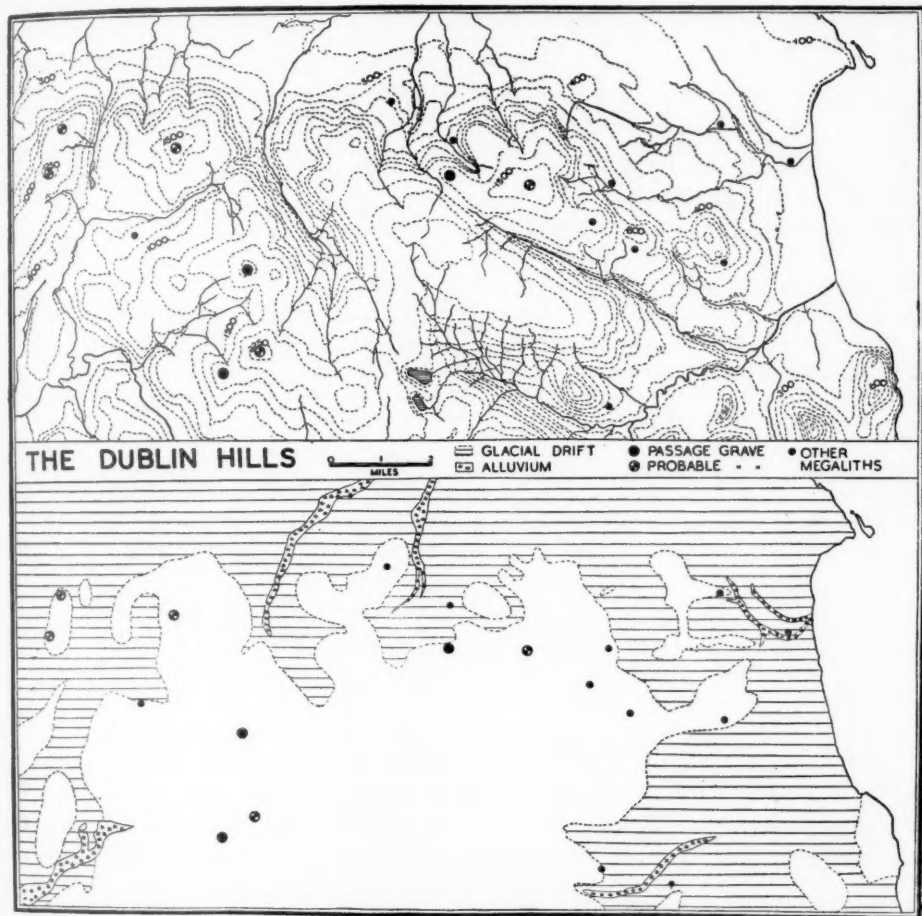


FIG. 6. The sites of the megaliths of the Dublin hills

ward line of the Firth of Clyde. Even the highest peaks were overridden and many horseshoe cliffs were carved out of the mountain sides and scraped clean. Moreover, the Clyde province, and Cowal particularly, has a high rainfall and much of the boulder clay and lighter drift have been brought down by streams to the lowlands, leaving bare rock surfaces in the interior.

In Crinan, for example, *roches moutonnées* are more noticeable than boulder clay on the hill-sides. The more northerly Crinan megaliths are all on fluvio-glacial



terraces associated with the Creagantairbh gorge (an overflow channel from ice retreating north-eastward along the line of Loch Awe) and on more recent fluvial gravels (see fig. 7). About one mile south of Kilmartin the southerly sites are on

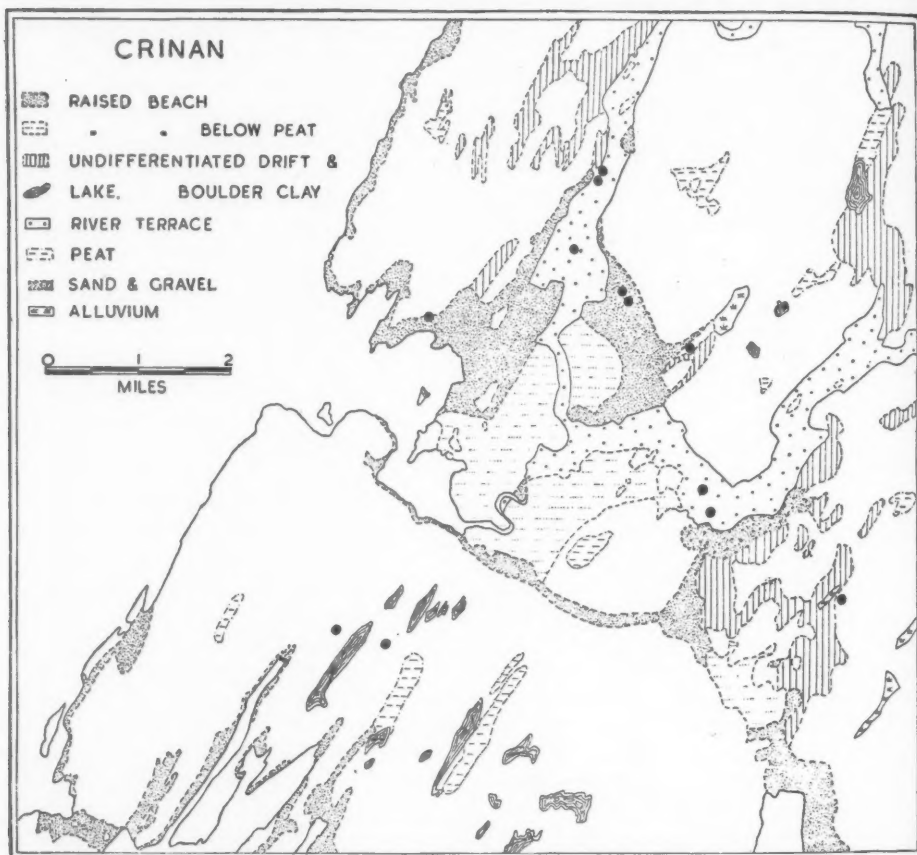


FIG. 7. The megaliths of the Crinan isthmus

the border of the 50-ft. raised beach into which the gravel terraces are merged. This beach and that at the 100-ft. level is found all around the head of Loch Crinan, where there are several good landings. The low-lying raised beach region of Moine Mhor, now largely peat covered, was apparently avoided by the megalith builders, and the Crinan sites are peripheral to it. The sites peripheral to the Crinan canal are placed on glacial outwash and on the deltaic gravels of many small streams. The intensity of megalithic concentration on the Crinan gravels is probably the result, in some measure, of the use of the isthmian route by northward voyagers as an alternative to the North Channel passage.

## THE MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS OF THE IRISH SEA 53

In Arran, Bute, and Kintyre the megaliths lie very near to the coast. The main exception is the primary site of Carnbaan which lies some four miles from the southern shore of Arran. It lies on a drift-free sill not unlike Graig Lwyd rock in composition. It has been stated<sup>1</sup> that the primary tombs of south-west Scotland, viz. the gallery graves with crescentic façades, are 'confined to the vicinity of . . . narrow and discontinuous strips of raised beach platform and the gravels at the foot of a glen' when these are 'adjacent to the shore. The absence of cemeteries is presumably a corollary of the restriction on habitable land imposed by natural features.' Gallery graves, as distinct from passage graves, are very rarely, if ever, grouped in cemeteries around the Irish Sea basin.<sup>2</sup> It is not so much recent *cônes de déjection* 'at the foot of a glen', but, in the earlier phases of colonization, outcrops of solid rock rising out of the mantle of heavy clay, and later on, large scale fluvio-glacial deposits and valley moraines, which appear to have been attractive. This is brought out on figs. 3 and 4, more particularly in Kirkcudbright on the mainland of Scotland. The correlation is noticeable between the megaliths and glacial gravels well up slope from the raised beaches and lower glens.

There are at present seven gallery graves with crescentic façades in the Clyde Province proper, viz.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Carnbaan, Arran.                    |  |
| 2. East Bennan, Arran.                 | Above a steep shore with least developed raised-beach in South Arran. Height <i>c.</i> 210 ft. On a quartz-porphry sill. |
| 3. Giant's Graves, Whiting Bay, Arran. | On south side of bay. Raised beach on north side only. At 450 ft. on a basalt sill.                                      |
| 4. Baile Meadhonach, Arran.            | <i>c.</i> 2 miles inland. Height 630 ft. On a quartz-dolerite outcrop.   |
| 5. Gort na h'ulaidhe, Kintyre.         | } At heights of 500, 300, and 450 ft. respectively on Dalradian schist broken by igneous dikes.                          |
| 6. Achnaba, Cowal.                     |  |
| 7. Auchoish, Crinan.                   |  |

The raised beaches, on the other hand, support twelve later gallery graves without façades. This is a reversal of Childe's statement that 'with the passage of time, the population grew and overflowed from the limited cultivable soil around the first landing places to settle on fresh land further away'<sup>3</sup>. It would seem that the primary settlers of the Clyde province were interested in hill pastures and stone for trade, and that they were followed by later peoples who realized more clearly the agricultural value of the raised beaches. Glacial sands and shelly clays provided the later megalith builders with a substitute for raised beach material in southern Bute where these platforms are not well developed. Fig. 8 correlates superficial deposits and megaliths in Arran. The earlier megaliths are indicated by squares.

On the south-west Scottish mainland lie the sands and gravels of the Stranraer-Luce Bay isthmus which may be a portion of the great *kame* moraine associated

<sup>1</sup> V. G. Childe, *Prehistory of Scotland*, 1935, p. 26.

Bronze Age sepulchral circles lie on the raised beach and glacial sand around Moss Farm.

<sup>3</sup> The nearest approach to a cemetery in the Clyde province is on Machrie Moor, where five

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

with the northward retreat of the main Scottish ice sheet.<sup>1</sup> No megaliths are to be found there now, possibly because this area was controlled by the Mesolithic peoples of the sand dunes around the head of Luce Bay. The megaliths of south-west Scotland, like the moraines and outwash deposits left by its valley glaciers, lie mainly under the shadow of the mountains. The glacial deposits overlies the lower hill slopes around the head-streams of the main rivers like a sea of mounds, and the maps show that their value as an edaphic control was appreciated by megalithic man. The forecourt cairn at Boreland above the Cree valley is a case in point. It stands on a fine gravel ridge with wet bog downslope. On the lower peninsulas, such as the Machers of Wigtown, field study reveals sand and gravel ridges which carry late megaliths such as Torhouskie circle, and which stand out from the boulder clay drumlins. Raised beaches are best developed around the estuaries of the Cree and Nith: elsewhere they may be represented by a narrow rock ledge, e.g. below Cairn Holy I and II, a degenerate gallery grave and a late horned cairn in Kirkcudbright.

In the Isle of Man the outstanding glacial feature is the end moraine which runs across the northern plain and is flanked by wide gravel platforms. It has been extensively cultivated over a long period, and no megaliths are to be found there. Both seaward termini are swept by strong currents and there are no anchorages. The moraine is separated from the central mountain mass of the island by extensive peat bogs, former lake basins, now largely reclaimed. Megalithic man seems to have preferred more sheltered sites, and there are many such farther south near to light soils but without the disadvantage of what Lamplugh<sup>2</sup> describes as 'a veritable sandblast' from onshore gales on the northern moraine. The tendency is for the Manx megaliths to be placed on drift-free rock outcrops either very near to outwash fans as in the area behind Peel, or on viewpoints above raised beaches and good harbours as in the north-east. Here Cashtal yn Ard and Gretch Veg are on drift-free Agneash Grits, and the third forecourt cairn, Ballafayle, lies on the edge of the boulder clay overlying the same formation. In the south the unique circle of tritaphs on the Meayll Hill crowns a mass of Agneash Grit, whilst the sites behind the south-eastern bays are on sand and gravel platforms (see fig. 9).

The blunt Cumbrian peninsula brings into the northern basin of the Irish Sea a late megalithic culture which is foreign to its shores and which belongs to eastern and southern England. The Lake District megaliths, with four exceptions, are 'ceremonial' or burial circles probably dating from the Early Bronze Age. It was traditional among their builders to settle in chalk and limestone country or in areas where the soils were equally porous. The plains bordering the Cumbrian Dome housed in megalithic times a culture transposed from the Lowland into the Highland Zone, and it is to be expected that the general rule that megalith builders all round the Irish Sea and North Channel coastlands used the lighter soils will be more strictly adhered to in Cumbria, and that there will not be much penetration of the central highland mass. It is likely that the deep valleys carved out of the Lake District Dome were marshy and forested in the second millennium B.C., and

<sup>1</sup> J. K. Charlesworth, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin.* lv, 1928, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> G. W. Lamplugh, *The Geology of the Isle of Man*, Mem. Geol. Survey, 1903, p. 405.

# ARRAN

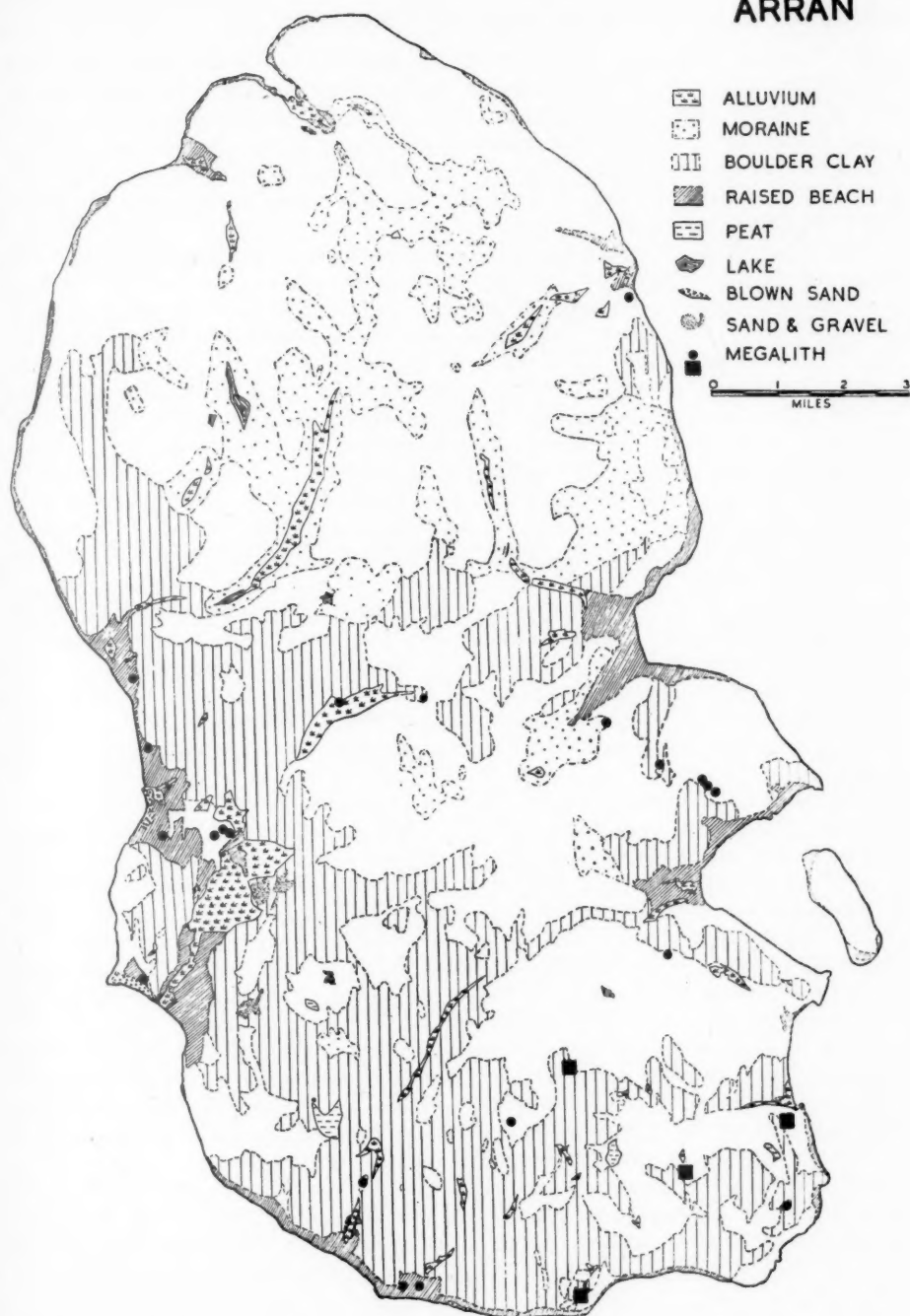


FIG. 8. The megaliths of Arran. Cairns with crescentic façades are shown by squares

this applies particularly to their drift-choked lower valleys which early men would see as they passed along the mountain flanks. The outlying fells were probably used to pasture sheep in summer as they are to-day, but these could be reached along ridge-lines pointing from the flanking plains to the higher central peaks. Thus we have evidence of settlement on Moordivock, west of the lower river Lowther at *c.* 1,000 ft., and of stone-working at Stakepass between Long Strath and Langdale at a height of *c.* 1,750 ft.

The lower foothills of the Lake District Dome are of Carboniferous limestone which forms a roughly circular belt broken only between St. Bees and Millom. It is best seen between the western terminus of the Stainmore Gap and the Eamont river which drains Ullswater, and this section was widely used by megalith builders who had come through Stainmore from the east. Outside the limestone ring the outcrops vary and are largely masked by superficial deposits. In the upper and middle Eden basin the megaliths may be divided into two groups, viz. those on upland sites on limestone pasture and, secondly, valley sites on river gravels (see fig. 10). The first group includes Raiset Pike long barrow which is an importation from east Yorkshire and which is in closest proximity to the Stainmore Gap. Further examples built on the limestones are the sepulchral circles at Oddendale, Iron Hill and Gunnerkeld, the Shap 'Avenue', and the Motherby and Geltsdale circles. The second group includes the former circle at Sandford on a gravel bed near the upper Eden; the two 'henge' monuments, Mayburgh, on a low glacial ridge, and the Round Table which lies on the 400-ft. terrace above the river Eamont (shown on the north centre of the map); the great circle Long Meg and the three adjoining cairn peristaliths which are ornamented with Bronze Age motifs, and which all lie on a detrital spread behind the Laxonby-Armathwaite rock barrier across the Eden. The last four megaliths lie north of the area included in fig. 10.

The valleys which open out on to the west Cumbrian coast all have great outwash fans from glacial melt-water where they reach the plain. In addition the hill faces are masked by moraines, and farther west, more belts of glacial debris mark the limit of the landward transgression of the Irish Sea ice. Sandy boulder clay topped by sand and gravel is common on the inner margins of the coastal plain,<sup>1</sup> and there are on this lowland seven megaliths which lie or lay on well-defined sands. The megaliths higher up the hill-slopes, like the numerous habitation sites which usually lie upslope from them, tend to be placed on the fringes of rock outcrops.

The builders of the Welsh megaliths appear to have responded to topographical controls in much the same ways as their kinsmen across the Irish Sea and in the Cumbrian and Scottish regions. Their tombs, apart from the stone circles and alignments scattered on the mountains of central Wales, are confined to the coastlands and peninsulas. The presence of Carboniferous limestone in the north-east of the country, of much drift-free hard rock in the windswept north-west and south-west, and of the gravels of Llŷn, the Caernarvonshire coastal plain, and Pembrokeshire (especially around the southern slopes of the Preseli Hills), has obviously helped to locate some of the larger groupings of megaliths. The Conway

<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed study see Bernard Smith, *Q. J. G. S.* lxxiii, 1912, p. 402.



# THE ISLE OF MAN

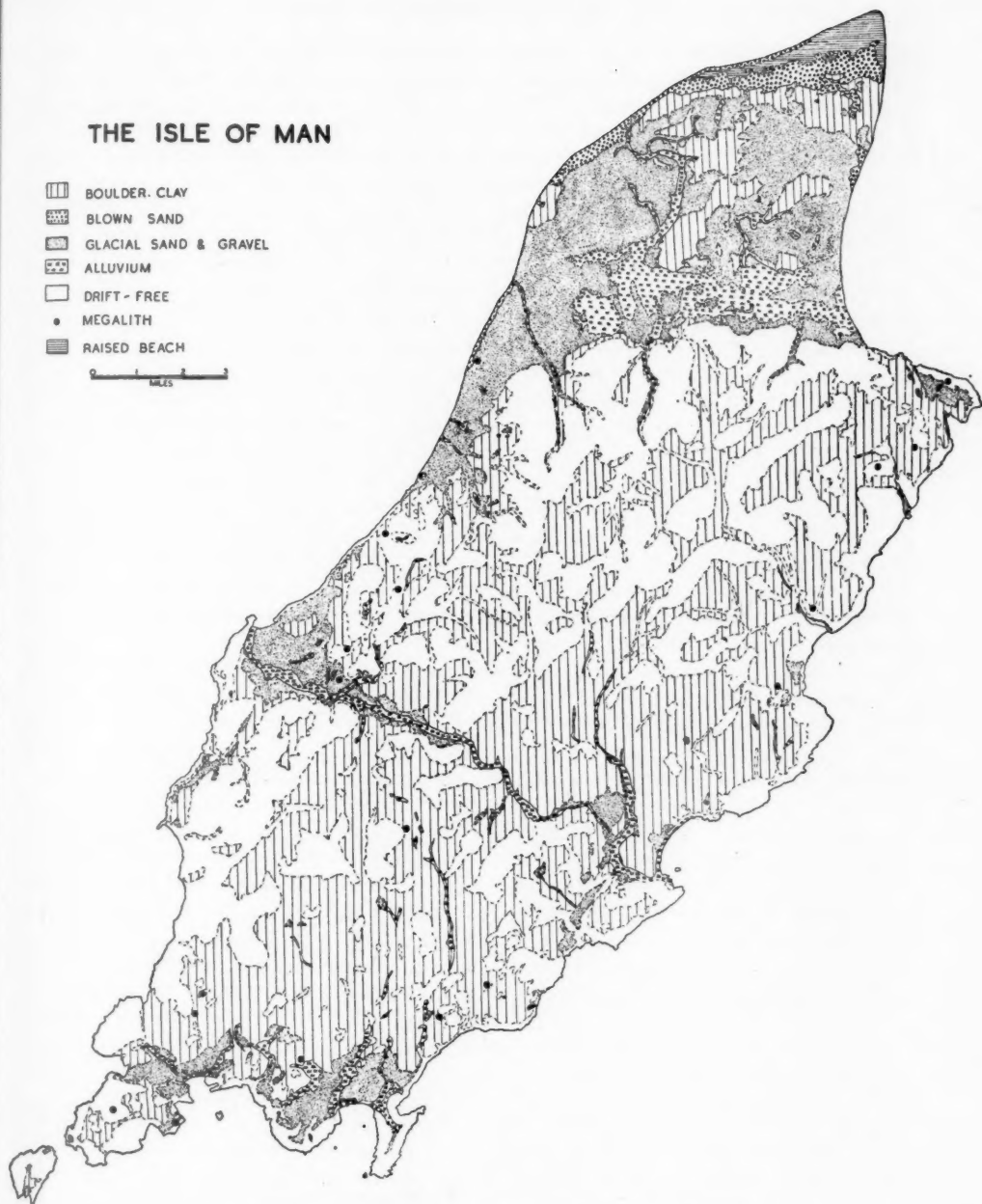


FIG. 9. Distribution of Manx megaliths in relation to superficial deposits

valley and the line of the river Dee which culminates in the west in the Bala Cleft have lateral gravel spreads and stand out, together with the lesser valleys of Pembrokeshire, as the most frequently used ways up from the Welsh coast. The utilization of drift-free outcrops is best demonstrated in Anglesey, in which island, or rather islands,<sup>1</sup> megaliths were built on several of the ten major drift-free areas cited by Greely.<sup>2</sup> For example, in the north-east of Anglesey the single chambers at Lligwy, Pant y Saer, and Glyn are on Carboniferous limestone; the Bodafon chamber lay on the granite outcrop of Mynydd Bodafon; Plas Meilw standing stones, Trefignath gallery grave, and Trearddur chamber are on the drift-free areas of Holyhead Island. The gravels which flank the Straits south of Menai Bridge carry the Plas Newydd and Bryn yr hen Bobl tombs, and the river Biant, overlooked by Bryn Celli ddu, has esker-like ridges on its margins. Raised beaches are too slightly developed in Anglesey to have influenced early settlement.<sup>3</sup>

The existing Welsh megaliths present few problems in relation to topographical controls. The difficulty is rather to explain the absence of megaliths from the coastlands of Cardiganshire. From the Mawddach to the Teifi estuaries there are no megaliths at the present day with the exception of Bwlch Corog in the hills north of the Lery, a site too doubtful to be included in this study, and the stone circle which has determined the form of the churchyard wall at Ysbytty Cynfyn and which belongs to the stone circles of central Wales. The Cardiganshire hills fall seaward in a series of plateau levels comparable to those on which the megaliths of west Merionethshire are found. There is a thin and incomplete cover of locally derived drift as far south as Llanrhystyd and of Irish Sea drift south of that village. Boulder clay cliffs flank much of the coast from the northern limit of the Irish Sea ice southward to Newquay, but south of Newquay there are rocky cliffs with river inlets which, though smaller than those which formed the main entries for the large communities of megalith builders in Pembrokeshire, might have been expected to tempt voyagers inland. In the interior, it is true, sands and gravels are not very well developed, but neither are heavy clays above the 800-ft. level. On the other hand, there are suitable landings and good gravel spreads and much sandy drift around the outlets and lower valleys of the Stewy, Wyre, Clydan, and Aeron; and along a stretch of four miles between Aberayron and Llanrhystyd light soils are spread on the ledge between the sea and the 100-ft. level which has an average width of one-third of a mile. Behind the low hills north of Cardigan there is a fine development of light soils in a relatively sheltered position.

There are three possible explanations of the apparent failure to profit from these favourable tracts of country. The first was given above in discussing tidal control. The second is that the strong winds and currents which run parallel with the coast may have made landings difficult, and the third is that there may have been coastal

<sup>1</sup> Sir Fôn (Anglesey) and Sir Fôn Fach (Little Anglesey) are now linked by alluvial and to a lesser degree by glacial deposits which fill the Malldraeth Marsh-Pentraeth depression. Only a three-mile stretch around the watershed across this depression was untouched by spring tides until the end of the eighteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Greely, *The Geology of Anglesey*, Mem. Geol. Survey, 1919.

<sup>3</sup> Since this paper was written Grimes has classed 83 per cent. of the Neolithic and 72 per cent. of the Bronze Age finds of Anglesey as found on light soils. See *Antiquity*, xix, 1945, p. 172.

## THE MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS OF THE IRISH SEA 59

settlers whose tombs are in the Cante'r Gwaelod. There are widespread traditions throughout coastal Wales, and a good deal of evidence, for land submergence. The lost cantref is said to have occupied Cardigan Bay, and at Borth at the northern,

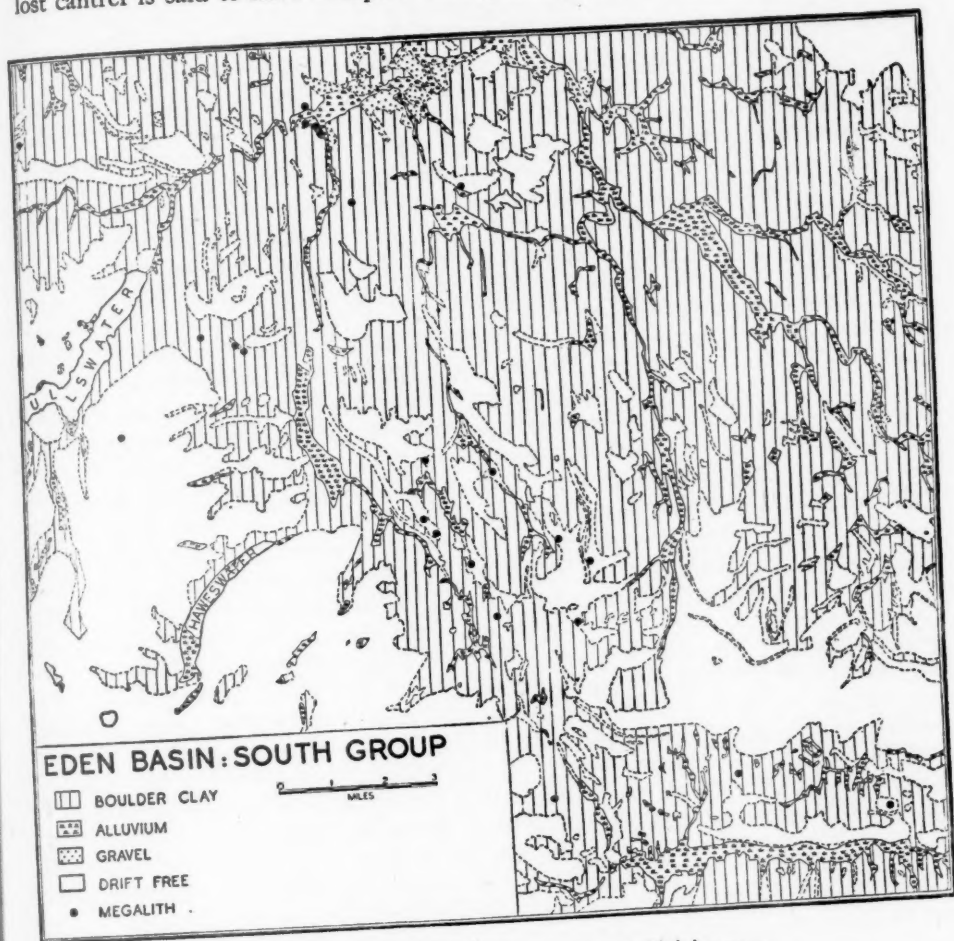


FIG. 10. The megaliths of the Shap limestones and adjoining areas.

and Newport at the southern, end of this 'empty quarter' there are submerged forests dating from Atlantic and earlier times. The north coast of Llŷn between Clynog and Nevin presents a similarly aligned straight coast, and here on the lost land of Caer Arianrhod, Ashton claimed to have found a stone circle under the sea three miles west of Clynog.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. Ashton, *The Evolution of a Coastline*, 1920, p. 225.

The above general survey indicates that regional variations in environment influenced the spread of megalithic cultures. An attempt has been made to visualize the needs of the megalith builders and to reconstruct the landscapes which surrounded them. To do this, the present-day setting of their burial-places and ceremonial centres has been studied in the field. Some preliminary collection of data was carried out in Ireland in 1935 under the guidance of its great field-worker, Dr. R. Ll. Praeger. The sites on the east side of the Irish Sea and North Channel were surveyed in succeeding years. It has been found impracticable to carry out more recent field studies in Kintyre, where I was assisted by Dr. J. R. Cunningham of Campbeltown, or in Ireland. The latter omission has in part been repaired by the splendid publications of students of Irish prehistory and by the help and encouragement which I have received from them. I should specially like to thank Dr. E. Estyn Evans for many kindnesses and for fruitful discussions. Mr. Oliver Davies has helped me to locate several sites in Co. Tyrone, and Mr. Edward Watson has kindly placed at my disposal details of megaliths which are known to have been destroyed in Co. Antrim. In Eire I must gratefully acknowledge help from Mr. H. G. Tempest of Dundalk, from Mr. Justice Liam Price of Dublin, and from Mr. L. Mongey of Dungarvan. Finally, I wish to acknowledge the inspiration and guidance of Professor H. J. Fleure, who has handed on to me the results of many years of study of the megalith builders and other peoples in relation to their cultural landscapes.

## THE CONGRESS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETIES

By B. H. ST. J. O'NEIL, M.A., V.-P.S.A.

IN 1888 the Society of Antiquaries of London issued a circular to many archaeological societies, which began as follows:

'In accordance with a request conveyed in a memorial from a large number of representative members of various Archaeological Societies throughout England and Wales, the President and Council of the Society of Antiquaries of London have resolved to summon a Congress of Delegates of the leading local Societies to be held in their Apartments at Burlington House on a day in the ensuing Autumn hereafter to be fixed.

'Each Society will be requested to send not more than two Delegates to the Congress, the object of which will be to consider in what manner to promote:—

1. The better organization of antiquarian research, and
2. The preservation of ancient monuments and records.'

The year 1888, therefore, marks the actual birth of the Congress, although its first meeting was not held until 17th July, 1889.

The first Hon. Secretary of the Congress was Viscount Dillon, followed by W. H. St. John Hope, Asst. Sec. to the Society of Antiquaries. He retired in 1895 owing to the pressure of other work, and was succeeded by Ralph Nevill, who ably guided the Congress until 1909. A. G. Chater served for one year, and was followed by William Martin, who retired in 1920. O. G. S. Crawford filled the office for two years, which thereafter was ably discharged by H. S. Kingsford, Asst. Sec. to the Society of Antiquaries, until his death in 1944.

Save perhaps for its first three years of existence, for 1902 (the year of the Coronation of King Edward VII), for 1915, 1916, 1918, and for the years of the last war, the Congress issued an annual report of its proceedings, which was distributed to affiliated societies. Down to and including the year 1920 this was issued as a separate pamphlet, but from the time of the appearance of *The Year's Work in Archaeology 1921* until the last report of 1939 the report of the Congress appeared in a gradually diminishing space along with the Report of the Earthworks or Research Committee, which will be described below, and with any special report which had been compiled.

The Congress also secured the publication, sometimes in association with Messrs. Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., of an annual index of archaeological papers which had been published by the various archaeological societies. This series ran without a break from 1891 to 1910 inclusive, but publication was then abandoned owing to lack of support from affiliated societies. A manuscript index of papers from 1911 to 1914 was, however, placed in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and in 1907 Messrs. Constable published in one volume the *Index of Archaeological Papers (1665-1890)* which had been compiled by Sir Laurence Gomme. No such index was revived in later years, although the Earthworks Committee published a select bibliography on its special subject from 1906 onwards, and in due course



its successor, the Research Committee, printed an annual bibliography as part of its Report to include excavation reports of all periods and all articles and books on prehistoric subjects.

In 1904 a printed prospectus of the Congress was able to refer to fifteen years of steady progress. It had published five special reports and had distributed three others prepared by other bodies, namely the proposal for an *Archaeological Survey of Britain, Arranged by Counties*, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London (1894), the *Form of Schedule for an Ethnographic Survey of the United Kingdom*, drawn up by a Committee of the British Association (1896), and *Recommendations for Compiling of County Bibliographies*, drawn up by the Bibliographical Society in 1896 (v. *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxv, 394).

The earliest of the Congress's own special reports was the *Report on the Transcription and Publication of Parish Registers etc.* (1892), which gave a list of those already published up to that time and 'Suggestions as to Transcription'. This was reprinted in 1896, in which year also a second report of the special committee listed the Registers printed or transcribed since 1892. There were no later reports, but, when in 1907 the printing of a third list was suggested, it was agreed that such work might now well be left in the hands of the Parish Register Society, which had been founded in 1896. Thus early was one aim of the Congress fulfilled.

The year 1895 saw the publication by the Congress of the *Report of the Sub-Committee on a Photographic Survey of England and Wales*. Photography of anything ancient from Roman masonry to portraits was enthusiastically recommended, and besides 'objects of archaeological interest, photographs should be welcomed that give types of natives and groups of school children. These will be of the highest value to ethnological students.' Such a survey had already been begun by the Birmingham Photographic Society and by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. It would be useful even now, fifty years later, to circularize archaeologists with item 4 of the Sub-Committee's recommendations: 'That some arrangement should be made to supply a scale in all illustrations, since without this many are practically valueless.' A scale graduated according to the English and metric systems, as was in use at the Silchester excavations, was recommended, and readers were warned to place it in the same plane as the object to be photographed. Two years later the National Photographic Record Association was formed.

Here it may not be out of place to mention a matter which has a very modern sound, but which was discussed at the Congress of 1893:

'The subject of Archaeological Education was introduced by the Rev. Dr. Cox, who advocated arousing the interest of the working classes in archaeology by means of popular lectures and local museums. He also exhibited proofs of large diagrams illustrative of ancient stone and bronze implements, for distribution in the national schools of the East Riding of Yorkshire, with a view of familiarizing the children with such objects.'

The Congress of 1895 is memorable for the first attempt by Congress to influence the policy of Government, local and national. It empowered its Standing Committee to call the attention of municipal, county, and other authorities to the necessity of preserving the ancient documents in their custody. In the following year a circular

letter on the subject was sent to all such authorities, and in 1900 written evidence was presented to the Committee on the Preservation of Local Records. In 1907 Congress published as a special paper by Prof. W. A. Copinger *On a Scheme for Rendering The Charters and MSS in the Various Repositories available for County Purposes*. In this and in other ways the preservation of ancient records, one of the primary aims of the founders of the Congress, was kept constantly in mind until, in 1932, the British Records Association having taken the matter up energetically, it was left entirely in its hands. The strong ties between the new Association and the Congress were for years marked by the holding of their respective annual meetings on successive days.

The other topic of especial importance at the Congress of 1895 was the inadequacy of the Ancient Monuments Act of 1882. Pressure on County M.P.s was recommended. In 1905 the Congress urged the Government to fill the post of Inspector of Ancient Monuments, vacant since the death of General Pitt-Rivers. Hearing in the following year of an undesirable appointment, a strong protest was made. This, joined with representations made by the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Royal Society, and the British Academy, was sent to the appropriate quarter.

The year 1912 was the great year of the Ancient Monuments Bills, three of them being then before Parliament. The Congress held a long discussion about them, accepted amendments to the Bills put forward by Mr. W. Paley Baildon, and appointed its Hon. Sec. as Delegate to give evidence before the Joint Committee of the Houses of Parliament. This was in June. Less than a month later a special Congress was called, because Parliament desired the views of Congress on the inclusion of ecclesiastical buildings in the Ancient Monuments Bill and other cognate questions. The Congress agreed that the Bill should be extended to ecclesiastical buildings, if this could be done without unduly infringing existing rights of the Churches. An amendment to add the words 'not in use' after 'ecclesiastical buildings' was lost. This and other views were sent to Parliament by the personal attendance of the Hon. Sec.

In the following year a new Government Bill was brought in, which embodied some suggestions of the Congress, but which excluded ecclesiastical buildings in use from its jurisdiction. The Congress of that year, clearly dissatisfied with this, passed resolutions, directing them to be sent to all cathedral chapters and all diocesan bishops, which included a suggestion that in future chapters should consult the Inspector of Ancient Monuments or someone nominated by the Society of Antiquaries of London before altering or extensively repairing cathedral churches. Replies from a number of bishops were encouraging, and looked forward to a time when the system of granting faculties might be improved.

One Congress was held during the first German War, in 1917, and resolutions were passed and sent to various Government Departments, designed to minimize danger to earthworks and other ancient monuments through increased ploughing and other causes.

In 1919 the Congress had before it the danger to ancient cottages from schemes for road-widening and from the activities of local District Surveyors. They con-

cluded by inviting the Minister of Health to approve the report on this topic prepared by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings.

These and others like them were the works of the Congress in its first twenty-five to thirty years of existence. In the words of Ralph Nevill it conceived its duty to be not so much the promotion of pure archaeology as the assistance of the work of local societies. It was the acknowledged spokesman of these societies, of archaeological opinion, consulted by Parliament, bowed to by a Government Department in 1905 when the Congress protested against the proposed mutilation of an eighteenth-century monument in Westminster Abbey, to make room for a memorial to Lord Salisbury. It had also issued more separate reports than those which have already been mentioned. In 1898 there was the *Report of Committee on the Indexing of Archaeological Transactions*, and in 1906 and 1907 respectively instructions for transcription of *Churchyard Inscriptions* and *Directions for Recording Churchyard and Church Inscriptions*. The circular concerning the formation of a National Catalogue of Portraits, of 1898, led unfortunately to but a small result, but J. H. Round's paper, *Notes on the Systematic Study of Our English Place-Names*, circulated in 1900, was clearly a forerunner of the English Place-Name Society, founded in 1923, to provide funds for the publication of the Survey of English Place-Names. For some years afterwards reports on the progress of this Society were read at the annual meeting of the Congress.

From 1921 onwards, although Congress met annually to discuss many topics of great moment and profit to affiliated societies and to archaeology in general, its proceedings and particularly its printed annual report came rather to be overshadowed by that of its principal branch, the Earthworks Committee, which remained faithfully attached to its parent stem, unlike several others which severed direct connexion and struck their own roots. Subsequent special reports, the *Report of Special Committee on the Cataloguing of Local Antiquities* (1926), the *Report on Linear Earthworks* (1927), the *First Report of the Research Committee* (1930), the *Report on Lynchets and Grass Ridges* (1931), the *Report on the Publication of Results* (1931), and the *Hints to Investigators of the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic Industries* (1932-3) are all except the first reports of the Earthworks Committee or of its successor, the Research Committee.

The subject of earthworks seems first to have been touched upon at the Congress of 1897, when Mr. Shore (Hampshire Field Club) brought before the meeting the desirability of asking Government to direct the Ordnance Surveyors to take more accurate particulars of earthworks. It was then resolved to suggest that local societies should get into touch with the Ordnance Survey Officers for their districts 'so as to promote the record on the surveys of the earthworks within their districts, and where possible to determine their age by excavations'. Two years later Mr. I. Chalkley Gould drew attention to the importance of obtaining a complete record of defensive earthworks, and affiliated societies were reminded of the earlier resolution.

In 1901 the Secretary of the Congress read a letter from Professor Windle of Birmingham University, giving an account of what he was doing to classify the earthworks in the counties adjoining Birmingham, and also giving a list of the points

which in his opinion should be recorded. Mr. Gould gave an account of the work he was doing in Essex for the Victoria County History, and it was stated that the new 25-inch ordnance survey maps would not show camps and earthworks. It was generally agreed that, while records of earthworks could not be too ample, it would be a mistake to attempt much classification or attribution of date or origin.

A committee was thereupon appointed to prepare a scheme for systematic record, consisting of Professor Windle, Messrs. Gould, Round, Hope, and W. M. Tapp, with power to add to their number.

In 1902 there was no Congress owing to the preoccupations of the Coronation, and the committee's first report was to the Congress of 1903. A *Provisional Scheme* was there presented. Subsequently two appendices were issued, also a *Hint for Helpers*. By 1908 or earlier this scheme was out of print, and a revision was considered. On 18th November of that year a sub-committee was appointed to draft the revised scheme. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope and the Hon. Secretary, Mr. A. G. Chater, formed this sub-committee. The revised scheme was published in 1910 by means of special subscriptions from societies, which amounted to over £20. It comprised 24 pages, mostly filled with plans, which were prepared almost entirely by Mr. D. H. Montgomerie. In 1912 it was reprinted. The classification was used by the compilers of the Victoria County History and by the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales.

Meanwhile the Earthworks Committee had continued its work in other ways and issued an annual report, which was printed separately from the report of the Congress. It contained notes on the preservation, destruction, and exploration of earthworks, also a short bibliography of articles on the subject, which had been published during the year.

In 1921 the Congress resolved to print with its report a summary account of *The Year's Work in Archaeology*. This was bound up with the report of the Earthworks Committee, and was the first one in the format which has since become so familiar. In the next year the two reports were combined.

In 1927 the terms of reference of the Earthworks Committee were revised, to the extent that its annual report was extended to include all pre-Roman finds of any sort, as well as notes on earthworks of all periods.

In the following year the Committee resolved to revise the text of the *Scheme for recording Earthworks*, since few copies were believed to be in stock, and a sub-committee was appointed for the purpose. Subsequently 1,000 copies were found, and the project was dropped.

At the Congress of 1929 the question of the formation of a Research Committee was discussed. It was referred to the Council, who set up a committee of some forty members. Of this body a sub-committee drew up a general scheme of research, which was adopted and presented to the Congress of 1930. Thus the Congress continued to aim at the fulfilment of one of its primary aims of 1888, the co-ordination of research. The report indicated the extent of knowledge at that time in each of the different periods of archaeology, and emphasized the outstanding problems awaiting solution. It urged a concerted campaign throughout the country,



and suggested that an annual report should be published similar to that of the Earthworks Committee, but covering also the Roman and medieval periods.

The mutual relationship between the Earthworks Committee and the Research Committee was solved in 1931 by the amalgamation of the two under the title of the latter. At that period and subsequently much attention was given to the excavation of ancient sites of all kinds, and comparatively little to surface observation and consequent classification of earthworks, although discoveries made by air-photography tended to revive interest in the subject. The Research Committee did not, however, forget the terms of reference and labour of its predecessor. In its annual report, although most space was allocated to brief accounts of the year's excavations and to a bibliography of the reports of earlier excavations and general archaeological articles and books, under the heading 'Preservation and Record' and in the Bibliography information was given of fresh discoveries and new accounts of earthworks. Finally a sub-committee was set up to revise the Classification of Defensive Earthworks. This sub-committee reported to the Congress of 1938, but the publication of its findings was delayed by the war of 1939-45. Although the Congress no longer exists, the publication of the new Classification has been assured, and should take place before very long.

In 1938 the Research Committee set up a sub-committee to revise its first report (1930), which was drawn up as an attempt to co-ordinate research by means of excavation. This sub-committee was asked to review the position after a decade of intensive activity amongst archaeologists, and to make suggestions concerning those lines of research which were most likely to be of profit to the science. Because of the war this sub-committee's report is not yet complete, but it is hoped to have it finished in a short while and to publish it under the title *A Policy for Research*.

The Congress of Archaeological Societies no longer exists. It was dissolved at the Forty-eighth Congress on 30th November 1945 by 14 votes to 12 in an assembly of 28. Instead there is the Council for British Archaeology. This new body came into being at a Conference of Archaeological Societies, which was convened by the President and Council of the Society of Antiquaries of London on 4th May 1943, as a result of representations made to them, and which differed only from a normal Congress of Archaeological Societies by the inclusion of representatives of certain societies not affiliated to the Congress and some other prominent archaeologists.

Really, therefore, the Council is the child of the Congress. May it flourish exceedingly, as did its parent. It has the same aims as the Congress, put forward more than half a century ago, when for the first time County Archaeological Societies were organized into a central consultative body. May the present once more discover the past in the true archaeological manner. Long may the Council pursue those aims, and may it have as conspicuous success as the Congress before it.



## NOTES

*Five Bronze Age Beakers from North-east Essex.*—Mr. M. R. Hull, F.S.A., sends the following note:—Since I last reported on Bronze Age vessels found in the Colchester area in *Antiq. Journ.* ix, 250, five more beakers have been acquired by the Colchester and Essex Museum. Four are of Abercromby's type B and one of type A.

No. 1 (pl. ix) was found in 1930 on the 200-ft. contour-line 366 yards due south of Piercys in the parish of Halstead (O.S. 6-inch, Essex, N.XXVI), that is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  miles south-south-east of Halstead Church. I visited the site immediately after the discovery with our late Fellow Mr. P. G. Laver, and the finder assured us that no other remains were found. He had dug a small pit into the natural gravel, and in so doing came upon this vessel at a depth of 7 ft. from the surface. When we arrived the burial-pit had been destroyed, and, although the depth of the vessel from the surface suggests that a tumulus existed, we were unable to see any remains of it. We found a calcined flint (a so-called 'pot-boiler') in the excavation. The vessel is on loan to the museum from Miss Nora Gray, of Markshall.

The clay is fine, containing a very small quantity of quartz-like grit; the colour is a warm red-brown, and the body is decorated all over with finger-nail impressions.

No. 2 (pl. ix) was found in 1930 on the 50-ft. contour-line about 200 yards south-south-east of the Flag Inn, in a gravel pit, in St. Osyth parish. The position is a mile and a quarter north-north-west of St. Osyth church. On this occasion it was not possible to examine the site, which could only be established with moderate accuracy some time after the discovery (O.S. 6-inch, Essex, N.XLVIII).

The clay is fine, of light red colour, ornamented with three bands of trellis pattern, each bounded by three horizontal lines, and a band of four such lines at the base, all executed with an instrument making a short line of square impressions, probably the end of a comb used in weaving.

This beaker stands out as different from the normal type for this area, which is Abercromby's B2. Of nineteen beakers of this (B1) type figured by Abercromby the only two from eastern England are from Kent, the rest are from Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, or thereabouts.

No. 3 (pl. ix) was found in June 1942 by a schoolgirl, Miss Anne Pilkington, on the top of the hill overlooking Alresford Creek and the Colne estuary, about 70 yards north-west of Bench Mark 74.8 and 560 yards slightly west of south from Alresford church, west of the road to the creek and south of the lane running west along the north side of the field. This is the northern limit of a huge gravel-pit. She noticed the vessel standing upright in the side of the pit and recovered it. Nothing else was noticed.

On inquiry I learnt that no one had observed a mound at the spot, but that it had been observed that exactly there the corn, when the field was cultivated, grew taller and greener in a large round patch.

Afterwards the diary of our late Fellow Mr. P. G. Laver came into my hands and I find under the date 8th July 1922 that he noticed, when motoring past the site, 'a definite tumulus, but much ploughed down, now barely 18 ins. above the field level. It is close to the road through the field, the centre being roughly 20 yards S of the road and about 200 yards from the road to the ford.' The sketch-plan leaves no doubt on the identity of the site.

The vessel is stated to have been about 5 ft. below the surface when found, but I am not certain whether the top-soil had been removed or not.

The clay is fine, burnt light red, but black within, and the whole body is covered with horizontal lines impressed in exactly the same way as on no. 2, but much less clearly. The base is slightly hollowed beneath and is not far from having a foot-ring.

No. 4 (pl. ix), the most recent discovery, was found in August 1944 in the large modern gravel-pit on Martell's farm, Ardleigh. The position is 1,450 yards south-south-west from Ardleigh church and 335 yards from the railway (O.S. 6-inch, Essex, N.XXIX). By great good fortune the mechanical excavator revealed this beaker in position, which was no doubt at least in part due to the operator, Mr. Bob Warren of Elmstead, who was looking for it, and who was able to recover it complete. Mr. Warren has proved to me that he is a very competent observer. He tells me that the vessel stood upright on the rounded bottom of a round pit, the darker filling of which could be seen clearly, both earlier, when some 2 ft. of top-soil was removed, showing the circular plan, and later when the face was being worked. The pit was 5 ft. deep from the grass level and 4 ft. in diameter at the mouth. Owing to the removal of the top-soil he could not say whether there had been a mound over it; in any case this field has long been under the plough. He found no other remains in the pit, though careful search was made. He tells me that he has from time to time observed similar pits revealed in stripping the top-soil here, and has always looked for remains in them, without result till now. He pointed out to me on the site another similar pit only 10 ft. (centre to centre) south-west of this one, and beyond it, in the same line, a much larger one only 12 ft. away, and a third, of the smaller size, about 60 yards away to the north-east. These have since been removed and proved to contain nothing.

One wonders whether these pits contained other burials without the accompaniment of a beaker. The gravel soil of this district destroys the bones very quickly and completely.

The clay is fine and burnt a light brown-red; the body is covered with horizontal lines impressed as in the preceding vessels, with a similar instrument with square teeth set very close together. There is a band of upright finger-tipping round the greatest diameter. The base is broad and flat, making the whole vessel of unusually squat appearance.

No. 5 (pl. ix) is an example of Abercromby's type A, which is of rare occurrence in Essex. It was found in January 1930 during the laying of a gas main under the west footpath of Flagstaff Road about 100 yards south of St. John's Green, Colchester. It stood upright in the side of the trench, only 18 in. below the surface. The ground had been disturbed before, and one side of the beaker was badly damaged. No other remains were found, and, of course, there was no trace of any tumulus left. It is not often such a find is made in an area which has long been built over. The beaker was presented to the museum by H.M. Secretary of State for War.

The clay is fine, but contains some sparse grit, fairly large and white. It is light brown-red in colour and black in the break. The body is decorated all over with impressed lines, some done with the point of a stick or bone, some in an indefinable way which produces an almost maggot-like impression of varying length, and some with the end of a comb, as on the type B beakers, but the teeth are oblong (very narrow) instead of square—the comb in fact, was very thin, at least at the points.

A few other finds and accessions have been made during the same period:

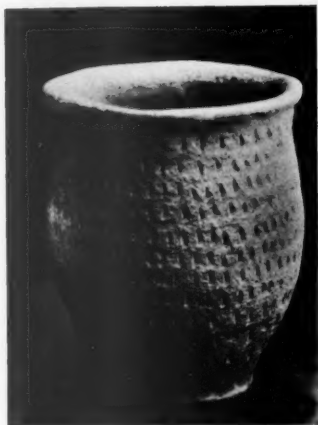
A small fragment of a large, bucket-shaped urn, with raised and finger-tipped band, was found at the Colchester Union House, 1930.

A bronze spear-head, 4 in. long, with thick central spine, small wings, and pierced socket was found in a field about 400 yards south-east of Prettygate farm, Colchester, in 1934.

A similar spear-head purchased from a dealer was stated to have been found in a gravel pit at Wivenhoe, near Colchester. Both are short and stumpy, with large socket, like Evans, fig. 392, but without any decoration.

A small piece of the cutting-end of a socketed celt was found in the excavations on the Sheepen site, on the top of the hill south of the farm, in 1934; and a small fragment from the blade of a bronze sword (or spear-head?) in the excavations for St. Helena's School, Sheepen Road, Colchester, in 1937.

A bronze socketed celt handed on to this museum by the Council of the Sussex Archaeological



1



2



3

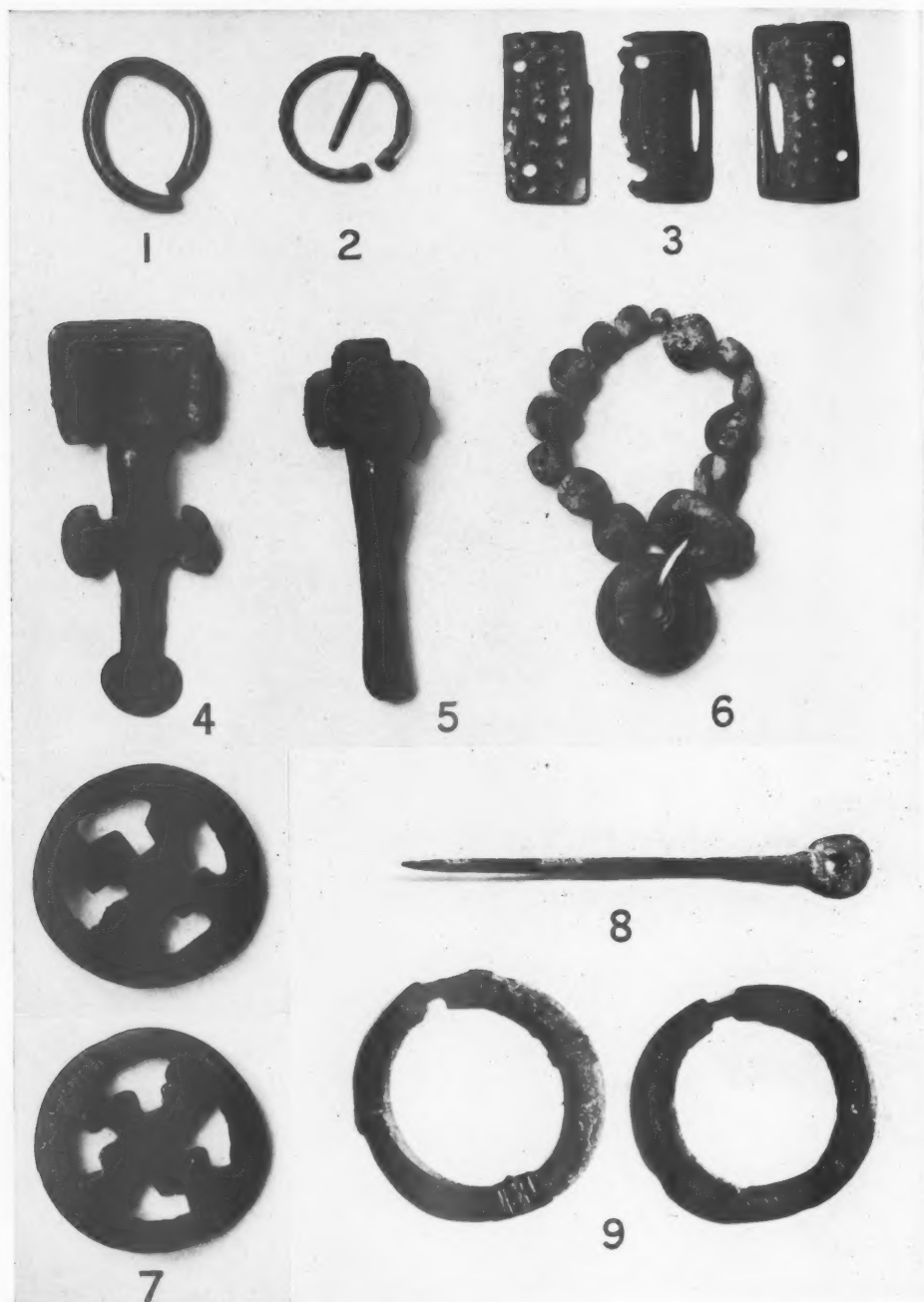


4



5

Bronze-Age beakers from North-East Essex (1)



Finds from an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Ruskington, Lincolnshire (2)

Society is definitely one of three exhibited to our Society in 1873. It is labelled 'Felstead, Essex, Knowles' (see *Proceedings*, v, 428). The body is plain, with two broad mouldings round the top and a small loop at the side.

A bronze palstave with an amber bead firmly jammed between the flanges was found when removing a hedge-bank on the west side of Glen Avenue, Colchester. The bead is biconical with an abrupt but rounded carination, and is  $\frac{11}{16}$  in. wide and  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. deep, the perforation is a little over  $\frac{1}{16}$  in. wide, in the centre of a flattening  $\frac{5}{16}$  in. wide. The celt is of the type Evans, fig. 59.

A large and fine bronze palstave, of the type Evans, fig. 61, was brought to me by a workman who said he found it when laying pipes for Langford waterworks, Essex; his further account was unintelligible and he would not part with it, so I had a cast made.

Another palstave, as Evans, fig. 59, was in the Laver Collection, and I have failed to find any indication of its provenience.

The fine bronze sword in the Laver Collection I believe to be one purchased by him from Mr. W. C. Wells, for no other sword was among his effects. The Wells sword was described as found in the Thames about one mile west of Barking. The type is that of Evans, fig. 347, with four rivet-holes in the handle and a double engraved line of demarcation between blade and handle.

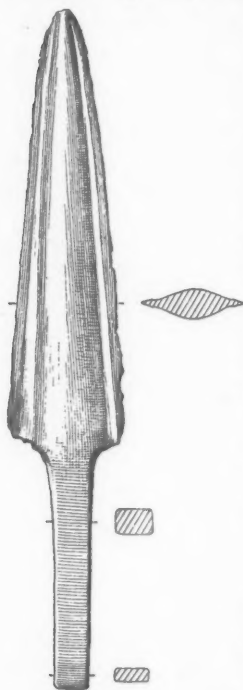
*An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Ruskington, Lincolnshire.*—Mr. T. D. Kendrick, Secretary, contributes the following:—Group-Captain G. M. Knocker very kindly allowed a small group of finds from an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Ruskington, Lincolnshire, to be exhibited to the Society at a ballot in May 1945. 'The cemetery', writes Group-Captain Knocker, 'lies on the west side of Ruskington—Lincoln Road about 600 yards north from the Westcliffe Corner. A disused mill called Mill Farm lies at the southern end, and along the road which runs north have been erected six bungalows covering a frontage of some 90 yards. It was while a drainage ditch was being dug in front of these bungalows that the cemetery was discovered. Graves have been found in the gardens of the four southern bungalows, and in the gravel pit to the west of them for a distance of about 8 yards from the line of the bungalows' western fence.' In addition to Group-Captain Knocker's investigations in 1942 and 1945, Mr. Ronald Hossack of Ruskington, who was reported missing in action in 1942, had carried out extensive excavations and made many finds at present preserved at Ruskington. The graves found by Group-Captain Knocker were:

1. A child, lying on its back, head to west; by the skull the bronze pin and ring-brooch (pl. x, 8, 9, right).
2. ? Woman, lying on back, head to west; bronze sleeve fastenings at each wrist (pl. x, 3).
3. ? Man, lying on back, head to west: small penannular bronze brooch (pl. x, 2).
4. Woman, lying on back, head to west. Two small square-headed bronze brooches (one in pl. x, 4), one on each clavicle; a string of beads, 14 amber and 1 glass, the largest amber bead showing 'keyhole' perforation due to heavy wear (pl. x, 6).
5. Child, on back. Bronze pin at head, and ring-brooch.
6. ? Man, on back, but slumped into grave without much care; no ornaments.
7. Body, on back, crouched, with head to east: small cruciform brooch (pl. x, 5) with iron pin intact, also  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. square of Roman glass.
8. Child, crouched, lying on left side, head to west, an iron knife.
9. ? Man, crouched, on right side, head to east: no ornaments.

Other finds made near the graves were two iron rings, two openwork bronze brooches (pl. x, 7), a bronze ring (pl. x, 1), an iron knife and a fragment of an urn about 10 in. in diameter.



*Bronze Spearhead found at Shapwick, Somerset.*—Mr. H. St. George Gray, F.S.A., Local Secretary for Somerset, contributes the following: This interesting spearhead<sup>1</sup> of bronze (here figured) has a stout rounded midrib (maximum thickness 7.5 mm.), on either side of which there is a hollowed groove, from the outer margin of which the bevelled edge springs. On one face of



Bronze Spearhead from  
Shapwick, Somerset (§)

the implement there is apparently a slight trace of lines along the groove, produced in the casting, and not by engraving.

The total length of the implement is 157 mm. (6½ in.)—actual point broken off; of this dimension the tang is approximately 51 mm. (2 in.) in length. The blade on either side is slightly convex in outline.

The implement was found by James Crane<sup>2</sup> in 'bottom' cut peat on Shapwick Heath, 1945.

The nearest parallel we have been able to find is one of the Arretton Down spearheads<sup>3</sup> (length 7½ in.), figured in *Archaeologia*, xxxvi, pl. xxv, fig. 4 (pp. 326–31), which also has a rather short tang of oblong cross-section, with no rivet-hole, and cut off square at the end.

A very similar tanged implement (length 10¼ in.) was found at Crawford Priory, Fife, and was figured and described by the Hon. J. Abercromby.<sup>4</sup> The tang, however, has a rivet-hole with a rivet in position. Abercromby gave some other references and discussed the subject.

Another comparable specimen was found at Newbury, Berks., when excavating for the railway,<sup>5</sup> but this specimen has a rivet-hole near the end of the tang.

References to somewhat similar implements have also been given by Sir John Evans.<sup>6</sup>

*An Inlaid Knife from Winchester.*—Mr. E. M. Jope contributes the following note: The iron knife illustrated (pl. xi, a) was found in Winchester during sewerage operations in 1938 near the site of the former East Gate at a depth of 20 ft. It was brought back to the City Museum, together with much other Roman and Saxon metalwork, by Mr. C. J. Mogridge, to whose careful treatment its present good condition is largely due.<sup>7</sup> The blade is 4 in. long and has a broad stout back decorated at the handle end with two nicks, on either side of which are three transverse scored lines. No trace of the handle was found. The most remarkable feature of this knife is the series of three stars, apparently of yellow bronze, with surrounding circles of copper, inlaid into the blade.<sup>8</sup> The two outer stars of the row are four-pointed and regular, having curious bulges between each point: the centre star is six-pointed and very irregular. All three copper circles are of the same diameter and equally spaced.

<sup>1</sup> These implements have also been described as tanged daggers.

<sup>2</sup> One of the men employed in the excavations at the Meare Lake Village.

<sup>3</sup> The Arretton Down, Isle of Wight, hoard consisted of nine tanged spearheads, a spearhead of the Snowhill type, a socketed spearhead, two daggers, three flanged axes, and an ornamented flanged axe (*Proc. Preh. Soc. n.s. iv* (1938), 89).

<sup>4</sup> *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxviii, 219 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> Figured in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xvi (1860), pl. 26, fig. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Evans, *Bronze Implements*, 257–60.

<sup>7</sup> I am greatly indebted to the Winchester Museum authorities for the opportunity to examine this knife and to publish an account of it.

<sup>8</sup> It was unfortunately not possible at the time the knife was examined to identify the metals used by spectrographic analysis, but real brass (copper-zinc alloy) was rare in Roman times.

Knives of this general form are of common occurrence over a long period, but the striking ornament of this example places it more precisely in the northern provincial art which grew up on the Germanic fringe of the Roman world during the fourth century A.D. A closely similar knife was found, complete with bone handle, in a grave in Mainz (pl. XI, *b*), associated with objects of the late fourth century.<sup>1</sup> Here the inlaid stars are of silver and the circles of gold, with a series of knobbed external projections giving the effect of a symbolic crown: between these three enclosed stars are two unenclosed five-pointed silver stars. The eccentric shape of the two outer stars of the Mainz knife resembles that of the corresponding stars in the Winchester knife, both being four-pointed with blobs at the internal angles. The centre star of the Mainz knife is eight-pointed compared with the six-pointed centre star of the Winchester example.

The design of nicks on the back of the Winchester blade is seen on several knives from the fourth-century deposits found in the peat bogs of Nydam, Denmark,<sup>2</sup> from which there is also a variant of the inlaid circle and star pattern inlaid in silver on an iron spearhead,<sup>3</sup> and other examples of this technique.

The exact date of use of the Winchester knife must remain doubtful, but in spite of its barbarian style it may most reasonably be considered, along with the chip-carved buckle-plates,<sup>4</sup> as among the latest objects of romanized trade with Britain.

In Europe metal on metal inlay is known as early as the Bronze Age: it becomes more common in Iron Age and Roman art, and appears again on the numerous Frankish brooches and buckle-plates of the seventh and eighth centuries. It is frequently used on sword-pommels, blades, and stirrups of the Viking Age, and dies a lingering death in the Middle Ages.<sup>5</sup> Under romanized influence this technique takes an equal place beside niello and enamel in co-ordinated designs,<sup>6</sup> but it is used quite differently on prehistoric objects to give discrete spots of decoration distributed at random over the surface. The knives under consideration, and the Nydam spearhead, may be compared with such typical prehistoric examples as the sword-blades from Kastel, near Mainz,<sup>7</sup> and from Allach in upper Bavaria.<sup>8</sup> The reversion to prehistoric characteristics is one of the striking tendencies of late Roman northern provincial art, where the use of star designs seems to become popular. The tradition of decorating spearheads and other weapons with this technique was probably continuous from prehistoric down to Viking times.

The metal on metal inlay effect was obtained by two technical processes.<sup>9</sup> In the first a wire or suitably shaped piece of the inlay metal was beaten into a previously prepared hollow in the body. In the Winchester knife two of the inlaid copper circles do not quite meet in their grooves, showing that this technique was used, as probably also on the Mainz knife, the Nydam spearhead, and most prehistoric examples. In the second a sheet of inlay metal was beaten into the body, which was previously scored with the pattern, and then cut away so that the body surface underneath showed up the design. This process was usual on Viking sword-pommels and seventh-century Burgundian buckle-plates, though the fifth-century buckle from Bifrons, Kent,<sup>10</sup> looks as though its plate and counter-plate were decorated thus. Examples of metal on metal inlay from the immediate post-Roman period are sufficiently rare for it to be worth listing some others: all those below, except the Bülach example, appear to be produced by beating silver wires into

<sup>1</sup> Lindenschmit, *Altertümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, v, 377-82.

<sup>2</sup> Engelhardt, *Denmark in the Early Iron Age*, pl. xv, nos. 4 and 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xi, no. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Behrens, G., in *Schumacher-Festschrift*, 285, 1930.

<sup>5</sup> Ward Perkins, J. B., *Lond. Mus. Med. Cat.* (1940), 41-2, 46, 53.

<sup>6</sup> Lindenschmit, *op. cit.* iv, pls. 11, 16, 52, 57; Exner, K., *Germania* (1940), xxiv, 22.

<sup>7</sup> Lindenschmit, *op. cit.* iv, pl. 11, no. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* iv, pl. 49, no. 1. Cp. also other weapons on this plate.

<sup>9</sup> Kendrick, T. D., *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, ix, 392, 1935.

<sup>10</sup> Leeds, E. T., *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936), 18-19, and pl. vii, *b*.

grooves in iron, giving sometimes the characteristic striped appearance of the Bifrons buckle tang. Leeds mentions two other buckles decorated thus from Howletts, Kent:<sup>1</sup> another was found in grave 84 at Weimar with coins of Zeno (474-91),<sup>2</sup> and a similarly dated one in grave 14 at Bülach, Switzerland.<sup>3</sup> Veeck<sup>4</sup> mentions a late fifth-century silver inlaid strap end from Grave 5 at Holzerlingen and several later examples. There are some curiously prehistoric-looking objects, apparently horse-trappings, with silver inlay, from Skåne, southern Sweden.<sup>5</sup>

*A Medieval Rock-Dwelling at Les Eyzies-de-Tayac (Dordogne).*—Mr. A. D. Lacaille, F.S.A., read the following to the Society on 22nd March 1945:—One is accustomed to think of the Vézère valley in general, and of the township of Les Eyzies-de-Tayac in particular, in connexion with Middle and Upper Palaeolithic remains only. Hence the interest which in this region attaches to later antiquities may be overlooked.

At several well-known stations and in places human occupation has continued uninterruptedly from Palaeolithic times to the present day. This is shown by relics found stratified, by rooms and even galleries hewn out of the rock.<sup>6</sup> It appears too in the villages, hamlets, and houses which have risen beside the caves and shelters at the foot of the great calcareous rocks. Many embody ancient cave-dwellings and shelters or peculiarities of the rock adapted to sundry requirements. Numbers of the cellars and storehouses, excavated or improvised in the rock and serving to-day, certainly go back to medieval times and even farther.

The troublous conditions in the old Périgord country during the middle ages are reflected by fortified churches and the situation and character of the feudal castles. Among less spectacular remains the signs of tenancy in caves and on shelves in high cliffs proclaim that the inhabitants of the main and tributary valleys were used to alarms, to provide against which they prepared strongpoints and refuges. Les Eyzies itself and the *commune* of Tayac, whereof it forms the principal part, contain examples of such typical monuments and ample evidence of the use and adaptation of natural features.

The significance of the traces of occupation on rock-platforms seems not to be generally known even in this district where antiquities are fairly understood. It is therefore not surprising to find that the indications of such settlements are sometimes assigned to religious purposes. This would help to explain why some rock-platforms are styled churches, chapels, or hermitages, and named after some probably legendary personage. In this connexion I have in mind the so-called Église de Guilhem high above the river Vézère, a short distance downstream and to the west of Les Eyzies. There a line of deep cruciform mortices at regular intervals occurs in the rock bulging over a long and wide platform in which similar holes appear. These openings held the ends of the rafters of a lean-to roof and the posts supporting the quarters of some form of walling. Thus in the essentials of its simple construction, which included the rock as the principal element, the dwelling would resemble many contemporaneous and existing houses at the base of the cliffs.

In the company of local archaeologists I visited a number of these sites. One above the eastern part of Les Eyzies proved more than usually attractive because of its remarkable features. To these little attention has been paid owing to the importance of the Palaeolithic deposits found near by.

Les Eyzies lies at the base of a high escarpated rock perforated with caves, weathered into innumerable crannies and hollowed into tiers of shelves and platforms. The rock serves as the

<sup>1</sup> Leeds, *op. cit.* 18, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Werner, J., *Münzdatierte Aufrassische Grab-funde* (1935), pl. 1A, no. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Kühn, H., *Vorgeschichtliche Kunst Deutschlands* (1935), 182, pl. p. 433, no. 2: cp. also pls. pp. 430-1.

<sup>4</sup> Veeck, W., *Die Alamannen im Württemberg*

(1931) 73-4, 80, 82; pls. P9, N8, O8A, B, 78A8, 73A1.

<sup>5</sup> *Acta Archaeologica*, ii, 104-11, figs. 6 and 7, 1931.

<sup>6</sup> Lord Avebury, *Prehistoric Times* (1913 edition), 318-19.



*a*



*b*

Inlaid knives from *a*. Winchester, *b*. Mainz (after Lindenschmidt)



*c*



*d*

Coats of arms of *c*. Dr. Henry Harvey, *d*. Dr. Andrew Coltée Ducarel, formerly in the Dining Room of Doctors' Commons



*a.* Rock-platform above Les Eyzies-de-Tayac (Dordogne)



*b.* Basins cut in rock at Les Eyzies-de-Tayac (Dordogne)



rear wall of many of the houses which flank the north side of the quaint narrow alleys. Immediately above these, wide ledges with natural openings behind have been adapted as outhouses. Virtually all evidences of prehistoric occupation at the lowest levels have been obliterated by the village and the various works associated with it. Some of the caves and overhung platforms higher up, however, are well-preserved Palaeolithic stations. Among these the Grotte des Eyzies and the Abri Audi far above are classic.

To-day it is relatively easy to reach the famous *Grotte*, but it could not have been so during and for long after prehistoric times. In the middle ages advantage was taken of this very difficulty to use cave and platform as a dwelling. That the whole site was defensible and safe is manifest, for the platform, upon which La Grotte des Eyzies opens, is accessible from the east only. It stands nearly 120 ft. above the Beune, a small tributary of the Vézère, rises slightly, and narrows westward to a point where it merges into the body of the great cliff (pl. XII, a).

Excavations have revealed that the Magdalenian deposits inside the mouth of the cave were disturbed by occupants of the Carolingian period.<sup>1</sup> Since no intervening layer was detected, it would appear that the site remained uninhabited from late Upper Palaeolithic times until it became a refuge during the middle ages. That the slightly inclined platform immediately to the west was also used by the medieval people is indicated by the discovery of sundry relics and by more obvious and permanent evidence.

Long and wide shelves, improvised at a convenient height in recesses above the platform, retain their character despite their weathered condition. The most striking memorials, however, are two wide circular basins carefully made in the tops of bulges in the rock. They throw light on some of the domestic and hygienic arrangements of the inhabitants.

The basin to the west (pl. XII, b), close to a long shelf, is slightly under 2 ft. across. On its flat bottom and slightly concave wall the marks of chiselling are still visible. This cavity is a trough, and the wearing above indicates that it was filled by water coursing down the cliff-face from a spring now dry or active only after heavy rains. The basin is provided with an outlet, wide at the top and tapering downward, to direct the flow into the duct beneath, without, however, quite emptying the catchment above. On the left or west side of the opening a sort of shelf shaped in the rock is large enough to support a fair-sized vessel. The ledge on the right is untreated and seems too small to be useful. To the right again, and at the same height as the top of the cavity, the series of circular holes probably held beams to support a cover for the outflow channel.

The hollow to the east (pl. XII, b) contrasts markedly with its wider neighbour, for it is deep, concave, and worn at the bottom and side by pestling and knocking in the pounding of substances and the preparation of food. Its purpose, therefore, was similar to that of the communal or sometimes privately owned bowl-like utensils hewn in rock-outcrops and boulders, employed at primitive occupation-sites in many parts of the world and ranging widely in age. Like its neighbour, this basin is furnished on opposite sides with a shelf flush with the top of the working cavity. The four circular mortices below and to the left probably supported the frame of a dresser or other accessory.

Since the platform is not overhung by the rock which nowhere appears to have been holed for rafters, one may conclude that with its domestic appliances it was the open-air adjunct of the cave-dwelling. The basins and other fittings fashioned in the rock may well be assigned to the Carolingian troglodytes, who lived in conditions hardly more advanced than those of their Stone Age forerunners. The care expended on the carving of the utensils suggests that necessity dictated frequent or long occupation of the site. It is likely that the place was resorted to in times of peril after the Carolingian period, but in the absence of evidence this cannot be asserted. Although scanty, the traces of medieval settlement in the Grotte des Eyzies and on the adjoining platform yet conjure up one side of life in the history of a humble community.

<sup>1</sup> Summarized (with a bibliography) by G. G. MacCurdy, *Human Origins*, ii, 345-6.

*Chancery Seal of Tobias Matthew<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Durham, 1595-1606.*—Mr. C. H. Hunter Blair, F.S.A., sends the following illustration (pl. XIII) and description:—

Round, 80 mm. diameter.

*Obverse.* The bishop, seated on a square-backed chair with incurved arms, wears a cope with hood, over an ample sleeved robe which falls in folds to his feet. He is bearded and his head bare except for a tight-fitting pointed cap over the back. He holds a book (the Bible?) to his breast with both hands. The chair stands beneath an arch of Renaissance style with square pillars and capitals. Through this arch the arcades and windows of a Gothic church can be seen. On the dexter side of the arch is a shield of arms of the see of Durham (*azure*), a cross (*or*) between four lions rampant (*argent*). On the sinister is a like shield charged with the bishop's arms—I and IV (*sable*) a lion rampant (*argent*), II and III (*gules*) three chevrons (*argent*). On a scroll beneath the bishop, in small capitals, is *VITA CHRVS MORS LUCRUM.*, below this is a shield of arms of the see of Durham impaling Matthew as above. The legend in Renaissance capitals, within a border, begins with a fleur-de-lis, it reads *SIGILLUM. TOBIAE. MATTHEW. EPISCOPI. DUNELMENSIS. 1595.*

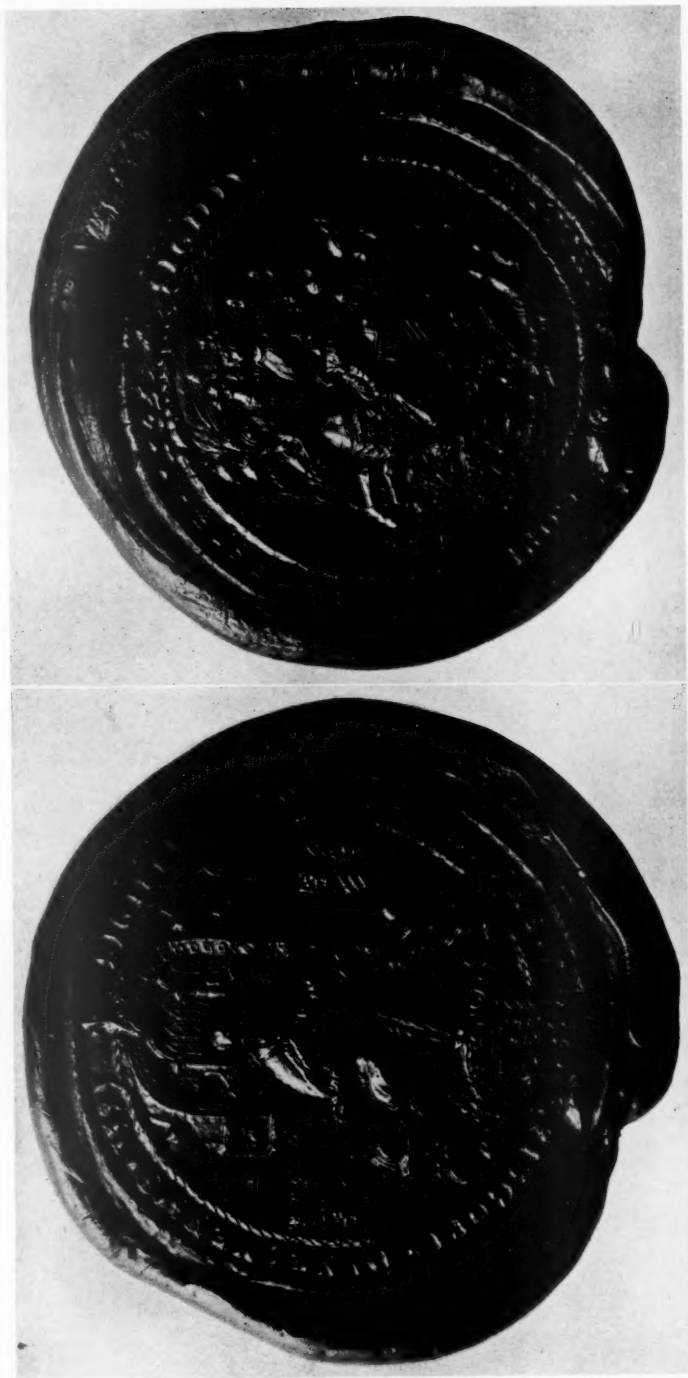
*Reverse.* The bishop as lord palatine, on horseback, prancing over a field decked with flowers. He is armed cap-à-pie in plate armour and wears a short skirted surcoat. His head is in a round visored helm with coronet from which falls a large plume of feathers. He brandishes a cross-handled sword in his right hand. The horse's head is covered with a chamfron from which rises a plume of feathers, his neck is armed with the laminated plates of a crinière. The body is clothed in a stiff caparison charged on the forequarters with the arms of the see of Durham; the hind-quarters bear the quartered arms of the bishop as on the obverse. Beneath the horse on a curled scroll is *PRO VERITATE. ET. IVSTITIA.* The legend around the border is the same as that on the obverse.

This is the first known obverse of a Durham chancery seal, showing the bishop seated on his throne, since that of Tunstall (1530-59). It illustrates well the change of motive which followed the Reformation. St. Cuthbert, St. Oswald, Our Lady, and all Gothic ornament are gone. There is neither cross, crosier, nor mitre, nor indeed does the bishop wear any distinctive episcopal vestment, the Bible and pious mottoes have replaced all these. The legend and the shields of arms alone show that it is the seal of a bishop.

*Coats of Arms from 'Doctors Commons'.*—Mr. W. J. Hemp, F.S.A., contributes the following note:—Volume xv of the *London Topographical Record*, published in 1931, contains a series of papers on 'Doctors Commons', 'The College of the Advocates of the Court of Arches', and 'The College of the Professors of Civil and Canon Law at Doctors Commons'. The papers are illustrated by drawings and plans, and the frontispiece is a reproduction of the aquatint view of the Court, drawn by Rowlandson and Pugin and published by Ackerman in 1808. This drawing shows one wall of the court room hung with oval coats of arms of members of the Society.

Two of these are now in my possession, one that of Dr. Henry Harvey, 'Founder' (pl. xi, c), the other that of Dr. Andrew Coltée Ducarel (pl. xi, d), whose 'Summary Account of the Society of Doctors Commons' written in 1753 is printed on pages 21-31 of the *London Topographical Record*. Dr. Ducarel records that in February 1568 'Dr. Henry Hervie Master of Trin. Hall in Cambridge, a Gentleman studious of the welfare of this Society and who has since been justly called its Founder provided a convenient Place for the advocates Reception.' He adds: 'His Arms being Gules upon a Bend Argent, three Trefoils slit (so printed for *slipped*) Proper, and this Inscription Hen. Hervie L.L.D. Aul. Trin. Cantab. Custos. Hujus Societatis Stator. 1549 are placed in y<sup>e</sup> Dining Room of Doctors Commons.' Papworth records the arms of the College as *Gu. on a bend within a bordure arg. 3 trefoils slipped vert.*, and so they actually appear on the panel, but the border had become so browned by age and dirt that its true colour was not recognized

<sup>1</sup> Dean of Durham 1583-95, archbishop of York 1606-28.



Chancery seal of Tobias Matthew, bishop of Durham, 1595-1605

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when the panel was cleaned and it appears dark coloured in the photograph. The outside measurements of the frame are  $26\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 24 in. and its width  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in.

Dr. Ducarel's own panel, which is slightly smaller, the frame measuring 25 in.  $\times$  23 in.  $\times$   $3\frac{1}{2}$  in., bears his arms *Arg. three lozenges gu.* and the inscription AND<sup>w</sup> C. DUCARELL L.L.D 1743. Both are painted on wood.

As the history of the buildings of Doctors Commons is given in the *London Topographical Record* it is enough to say here that they were rebuilt in 1672 after destruction in the Great Fire and finally destroyed in 1867, after the various offices they had contained had been housed elsewhere, including the Probate Office of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, which in 1858 had become the Principal Registry of the new Court of Probate and, in 1874, was installed in its present home at Somerset House, after a sojourn at a site in Great Knighttrider Street adjoining its old home.

In 1861 the College of Advocates, the owners, following the compulsory break up of the Commons, sold their library and other movable property, including the remaining panels of arms.<sup>1</sup> The two I now possess were bought by my grandfather John F. E. M. Smith, the Record Keeper of the Prerogative Court. On his death they passed to his son, our late Fellow, J. Challenor Smith, superintendent of the Library Department at the Principal Probate Registry, and on his death to myself.

I had the paintings cleaned and proposed to have the somewhat battered frames regilt; but when much dirt and a residue of added gilding had been removed it was found that both were originally silvered. It is possible that some of the gilding of the silver was original.

The design of the carved wooden frames points clearly to a date quite late in the seventeenth century, probably the last decade, i.e. some twenty years after the rebuilding of the premises. The drawing of Dr. Harvey's coat suggests the same approximate date, whereas that of Dr. Ducarel, although similar in character, is poorly drawn and is no doubt of the date it bears, 1743, and a later and poorer copy of the founder's design. The list of panels printed below, more or less contemporary with the destruction, suggests that only some were then framed and the original Ducarel frame may have been lost.

Dr. Ducarel, who was related to my grandfather, was born in 1713. His father, Jacques Coltée Ducarel, Marquis de Chateau de Muids, near Caen, was a Huguenot who was born in 1680 and ennobled in 1713. In 1711 he married Jeanne Crommelin, daughter of André Crommelin, Seigneur de Muids and Viscomte de Bonnemarre, of the same Huguenot family as Louis Crommelin, the so-called founder of the linen trade in Ireland, who settled there at Lisburn in 1698. Jacques Coltée Ducarel also became a refugee and made his home at Greenwich.

Dr. Ducarel was a scholar of Eton and a gentleman commoner of St. John's College, Oxford, but was not naturalized until 1734. He became a Fellow of our Society in 1737, LL.D. in 1742, and F.R.S. in 1762, and was Librarian at Lambeth from 1757 until his death in 1784; while, as indicated on the heraldic panel, he became a member of the College of Advocates in 1743. His services as an archivist and antiquary are well known.

The following list of ninety-two coats was made at the time of their dispersal and the names against some of them indicated their new owners, several of whom were connected with the Commons. The list is in duplicate and variations have been noted.

*A List of Coats of Arms that were to be seen in the  
College of Advocates previous to its Demolition*

Jno Daubeney	1803	Mr Bateman	Jn Bettesworth	1749
W. W. Moncrieff	1807		Joseph Smith	1740
W. Herbert	1808		Geo Ogilvie	1799

<sup>1</sup> But one at least of those on the list below was delivered in August 1865.



David Stephenson <sup>1</sup>	1779		June 16		
Wm Spry	1759		Sherard B. Burnaby	1801	deld 11 Woburn
Guliel. Clements	1691				Sqre
Hy Newton	1678				Miss Taylor
F. Topham	1447	[sic]	Thos. Edward	1805	
Sir Thos Exton	1664	Mr Bateman	Rt. Dale	1739	
Geo. Oxenden	1679		J. H. Arnold	1787	
Sir John Cooke	1694		Alexr. Croke	1797	
H. V. Salusbury	1824		French Lawrence	1788	
Hump. Henchman	1703		Thos. Crespigny	1790	Toker
Ed <sup>d</sup> Simpson	1736		S. Parson	1792	
C. C. Crespigny	1763	Toker	Wm. Batline	1785	
P. Calvert	1757		Denham Skete	1772	
S. R. Meyrick	1811	Mr King Her. Coll.	F. Simpson	1758	
C. Townley	1809		Carol: Heriot	1701	
Geo. Hay	1742		Jas. Marriott	1757	to Mr M by order of
J. Taylor	1741				Dr Robinson
Rd. Sallbroke	1745		Wm. Burrell	1760	
Wm. Macham	1754	Dr. Machams, sent	Wm. Terrett	1797	
		to	John Exton	1636	Mr Bateman
Gul. Strahan	1710		John Wainwright	1660	
Rd. Fuller	1710		H. Fauconberge	1674	
R. Foulkes	1735		J. Gedolphin [sic]		
J. Cottrell	1727		Car Pinfold	1736	
J. Hargood	1689		Gul <sup>2</sup> Bramston	1725	
J. Bettesworth	1706		Sir R. Lloyd	1663	
T. Ayloffe	1696		Geo. Bramston	1682	
Stephen Waller	1685		Hen Penrice	1706	
Carol. Pinfold	1704		Thos. Lane	1686	
Thos. Pinfold	1668		Edwd. Masters	1664	
W. Wynne	1757	sent to J. T. Trench-	Gul Oldys	1670	
J. Trenchard Pickard	1822		A. Collyer	1737	
		ard Esq., Wey-	Exton Sayer	1718	
H. Hervie	1549	J. S.	Geo. Paul	1704	
W. Scott	1779		C. Curzon	1709	
Jacobus Gibson	1714		J. Exton	1698	Mr Bateman
Scrope Bernard	1789	sent to Mr Barnard	J Audley	1710	
		by Dr Lee	Nath Lloyd	1696	
John Fisher	1780		Thos Walker	1734	Dr Twiss deld. to
Wm. Compton	1763		Rt. Chapman	1736	
Geo. Harris	1750		Ed <sup>d</sup> Isham	1724	Mr Bateman
Andrew Ducarell	1743	J. S.	G. Matcham	1820	Sent to
Denis Clarke	1746				Dr Matcham
Thos. Salusbury	1740				
H. Edmunds	1736				Framed
Jn. Andrew	1711		deld at Office	Dr Lushington	
Thos. Paske	1707		do	Dr Blake	
Robt. Wood	1703		to himself	Dr Spinks	
Gul. Phipps	1707			Dr Harding	
Edwd. Kynaston	1710	Qy.		Dr Elphinstone	
Ht. Jenner	1703	sent to Dr Jenner		Dr Waddilove	
J. W. Compton	1804			Dr Stonestreet	

<sup>1</sup> Stevenson on second list.<sup>2</sup> 'Geo.' on second list.

Dr Hughes	Isleworth Carrier	Dr Berens	to Mr Park
Dr Howard			Aug. 5/65
Dr White		Dr Chapman	
Dr Jenner	del <sup>d</sup> at Office	Dr Dasent	
Sent Miss Taylor	do	Dr Robertson	
17	to Dr Lee	Dr Lee	
Dr Stodart	do	Dr Geo. Lee	
	del <sup>d</sup> to him	Dr Deane	

*Animal Bones from Archaeological Sites in Britain.*—Dr. J. Wilfrid Jackson, F.S.A., has presented his large collection of animal bones from prehistoric and early historic sites in England to the British Museum (Natural History). This collection is unique. In the course of the last forty years animal bones found in numerous archaeological excavations in Britain have been sent to Dr. Jackson for investigation and report. In most cases the excavators allowed Dr. Jackson to retain the material, and he has thus been able to build up an extensive and unique collection of dated skeletal remains of mammals hunted or husbanded by man down the ages.

Dr. Jackson's gift included material from the following archaeologically important sites:

*Neolithic* (and in some cases Beaker period): Julliberrie's Grave, Kent; Easton Down flint mine, Wilts.; Harrow Hill flint mine, Sussex; Maiden Castle, Dorset (see below); Skendleby long barrow, Lincs. (ox skeleton); Whitehawk Camp, Sussex.

*Bronze Age*: Amesbury, Wilts. (barrow 85 and Ratfyn barrow); Boscombe Down East enclosure, Wilts.; Cambridgeshire Fenland sites; Hayes Wood enclosure, Freshford, Somerset (possibly Iron Age); Minnis Bay foreshore site, Birchington, Kent; 'The Sanctuary', Overton Hill, Wilts.; St. Lawrence College site, Ramsgate; Thorny Down, Wilts.; 'Woodhenge', Wilts.

*Pre-Roman Iron Age*: All Cannings Cross, Wilts.; Bredon Hill, Glos.; Bury Hill, Hants; Camerton, Somerset; Cooper's Hole, Cheddar; Colchester (see below); Glastonbury lake-village; Harrow Hill, Sussex; Highdole Hill, Telscombe, Sussex; Kingsdown Camp, Somerset; Maiden Castle (selection only, in part Neolithic); Meon Hill, Stockbridge; Glos.; Swallowcliffe Down, Wilts.; Little Woodbury, farmstead site.

*Romano-British*: Camerton, Somerset (dogs); Colchester (in part Pre-Roman); Dog Holes Cave, Warton Crag, Lancs.; Nuthills 'villa' near Bowood, Wilts.; Park Street 'villa', near St. Albans; Teffont Ewyas Quarry, near Salisbury (dog); Witcombe 'villa', Glos.

*Medieval*: Old Sarum (refuse in 11th cent. cess-pit).

It is understood that Dr. Jackson is presenting similar material from Welsh sites to the National Museum of Wales, and from Scottish sites to the Royal Scottish Museum.

The archaeologist often learns much from the osteologist's report even when it is based on a comparatively scrappy series of animal remains from a single site. Thus, from a list of identifications coupled with a numerical assessment showing in what proportions the different types occur, he may learn the relative importance of hunting and husbandry at the particular stage of culture represented by the refuse. If it is revealed that a high proportion of the domesticated animals were killed when young, he will have a further indication of the type of economy of the ancient society under investigation; and so on.

The osteologist, on the other hand, usually requires, if not complete skeletons, at least long series of complete bones of particular animals before he has material on which to base fundamental zoological conclusions. Such series are rarely yielded by single sites, but may be built up by selection of dated material from a large number of sites. Herein lies the importance of Dr. Jackson's collection. Building on the foundations laid by his co-operation with excavators, it should

be possible before long for osteologists to trace the development of the breeds of domestic animals in Britain from Neolithic times onwards. At any rate it is clear that the biologist and the archaeologist have here a most fruitful field for further collaboration.

The Council for British Archaeology recently appointed a Committee (The Natural Sciences Committee) to advise on ways and means of furthering the co-operation between archaeologists and those natural scientists whose work has archaeological connexions. In an interim report the Committee pointed out the need for building up central reference collections of, for example, dated animal bones. Dr. Jackson's material will form the basis of one such reference collection. It will be in the charge of Dr. F. C. Fraser.

## REVIEWS

*A Find of the Early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey: Interim Report.* By SIR CYRIL FOX, P.S.A., F.B.A. 10½ x 8. Pp. 72, 27 pls., 25 line-illustrations, and maps. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1945. 7s. 6d.

Our President has already discoursed to the Society upon this remarkable find and exhibited its major treasures. The circumstances of the discovery (1943), in peat excavated from an Anglesey lake-side for spreading over the surface of a Government site near by, were no less notable than is the character of the material; and the bringing together of the collection at Cardiff reflects the greatest credit upon all concerned. It must be added that this report is an interim one above all because since it went to press further material has been coming in; and purposeful excavation at Llyn Cerrig, if as we hope it can eventually be undertaken, may add much more, the character of which can as yet only be imagined. But even as it is, the report is a major contribution to the Early Iron Age archaeology not only of Wales but of the British Isles, and in some sense all north-western Europe.

The inventory comprises ninety-one items, of bronze and iron, consisting of pieces of swords and daggers, spear-heads, horse-bits and terrets, the tires, nave-hoops, and linch-pins of chariot-wheels, other metal parts of vehicles including a distinctive bronze 'horn-cap', iron currency-bars, gang-chains for captives, and much work in sheet bronze, including part of a trumpet, of two cauldrons, of the ribbon-embellishment of ceremonial ash-staves, and various pieces ornamented in relief, the finest being a large and beautiful plaque, artistically the gem of the collection. All are well illustrated, both by photographs and by the skilful line-drawings of Mr. C. O. Waterhouse. The preservation and restoration of many of the pieces owes much to Dr. H. J. Plenderleith of the British Museum, who has also contributed technical observations of interest and importance. The catalogue, which is both compact and clear, is preceded first by a long descriptive survey, and then by ten pages of discussion, summarizing the results of the survey and approaching a provisional assessment of the find's general significance. In date the collection falls mainly—if not wholly—within the first centuries B.C. and A.D., up to (but not oversailing) the Roman conquest of Anglesey. Most of the classes of object represented are in some degree known to Iron Age archaeology already, but scarcely any have ever before been found in north Wales; and the comparative study of almost every class has taken Sir Cyril far afield over Britain, and sometimes to Ireland and to the Continent as well. He shows, in fact, that the collection is largely made up of pieces brought together from south-west England (apparently 25 cases), from east and south-east England (7), and also (the trumpet and one distinctive horse-bit) from north-east Ireland.

Among the iron-work the discussion of the gang-chains is both archaeologically and technologically outstanding; of the wheel-tires it may be added first that they invite comparison with the Bar Hill specimens from the Antonine Wall, and with another (unpublished in the British Museum) from Roman London, when conditions shall make that possible, and secondly, that George Sturt's *The Wheelwright's Shop* (Cambridge, 1923, at p. 186; but all the chapters on 'tying' and 'shoeing' are relevant) seems to leave no doubt that the tentatively suggested 'Type C', with its inner aspect concave, is not a type at all, but simply the result of wear. The horse-bits are variously iron, iron bronze-coated or bronze-cased, and cast bronze: their discussion is both technically and typologically most fascinating, and the classifications put forward, on the basis of much detail admirably observed both in the Llyn Cerrig and earlier-found English specimens, mark an important step forward for this department of Iron Age archaeology, both in its historical and its geographical aspect. The same is true of the terrets and linch-pins; the nave-hoops and

tubular bronze bracelets are noteworthy also (on the map, fig. 8, Hengistbury Head has been accidentally moved to Swanage).

Of the bronze cauldron-fragments it must regretfully be said that all or most of the 'water-clock' parallels seem to be late- or post-Roman. We all forgot this during the war, but that it is true of the Irchester and Wotton finds was pointed out by Mr. Kendrick in 1932 (*Antiquity*, vi, 162-3), and it is a question just what fraction of Reginald Smith's noted collection of 'water-clocks' can be allowed to the pre-Roman Iron Age at all. The answer is, perhaps, only those of more or less hemispherical, uncarinated shape (none of which, incidentally, are demonstrable 'water-clocks' anyway); and thus the Llyn Cerrig fragments, with that from the Santon hoard (but none of the others listed on p. 67), make a welcome starting-point for a new list, a task for the future, of genuinely pre-Roman Iron Age cauldrons.

The recognition of what one used to call an 'axle-end' as the cap of a chariot-horn (i.e., probably, hand-hold), like that from Waldalgesheim, is a brilliantly convincing stroke contributed by Dr. Jacobsthal. But is it really clear why the pounced swastika on the Llyn Cerrig one should have been 'added later', in Anglesey, or why the whole piece should be any earlier than the first century B.C.? Lastly, the 'crescentic' embossed plaque. The analysis of its ornament is the best single thing in the book: intensely illuminating. It must not be summarized, but read—slowly and with seeing eyes. And what was this plaque? It is not really crescentic, but circular; and it was riveted to a backing that has perished, which had in it a large round feature for which an opening in the plaque had to be left, rather away from the centre (hence the 'crescentic' look). Perhaps an answer will be propounded for us in the promised Final Report, the publication of which will be eagerly awaited.

As to why all this gear was deposited in Llyn Cerrig Bach—together, too, with animal bones—it is an absorbing problem. Whether the depositing was done piecemeal or all at once, it is impossible not to join Sir Cyril in connecting it with the famous Druids of this sacred island. They will have been the magnet which drew such a diversity of material hither from so far afield, whether as offerings or presents over a long period of time, or as a single oblation, e.g., of battle-spoils. At present the former seems perhaps the more likely; but the wealth long in gathering may yet all have been committed to the lake together, as a supreme sacrifice, perhaps in panic, or by the hand of a victorious and destroying enemy. For read the puzzle how one will, the imagination cannot shut out the thought of the sack of the island's Druid groves by Suetonius Paulinus in the fateful year 61. Further discoveries may presently make the problem clearer. Or will they complicate it? In any event, this report is a fine introduction to it, and to a richer understanding of the whole ancient Celtic West.

C. F. C. HAWKES

*Skokloster Skölden*, av RUDOLF CEDERSTRÖM och KARL ERIK STENEBERG. With an English summary. Kungl. Livrustkammaren. 86 pp. + frontispiece and 11 plates. 12 × 9, Stockholm, 1945.

Hard on the heels of the elaborate monograph on the arms and clothing worn by Gustavus Adolphus on the field of Lützen comes another handsome publication of the Royal Armoury of Sweden. It is concerned with a parade shield in the family armoury of Count Wrangel at Skokloster, near Upsala, and it is to be welcomed for the light which it throws on a rather dark corner in the history of embossed armour.

Forty-five years ago, in his catalogue of the Dino Collection, the Baron de Cosson isolated from the general mass of its kind a group of embossed armours, florid and rather degenerate in style, to which he gave the name of 'the Louvre School'. The title was chosen because many examples had a direct association with the French monarchy and none of them fitted stylistically into the recognized schools of Italy or Germany. Sir Guy Laking incorporated the Baron's



diagnosis in his *Record* twenty years later. The difficulty in obtaining more definite knowledge lay in that absence of documentary evidence which always hampers the student of French armour.

Research in the Swedish archives has now revealed that the armour of Erik XIV at Stockholm and two similar suits of his which forty years later passed into the hands of Christian II of Saxony and his brother John George were commissioned from an Antwerp goldsmith, Eliseus Liebaerts.

Since de Cosson's original proposition, it has been found that the 'Louvre School' is directly linked through an armour bearing the cipher of Henri II of France (formerly in the Wartburg and now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York) with a set of drawings in the Graphische Sammlung at Munich, which modern critics attribute to Étienne Delaune. Baron Cederström has now completed a triangle by discovering a similar correspondence between these drawings and the armour of Erik XIV at Stockholm. Is one to conclude that all this 'Louvre School' armour was made at Antwerp? The Low Country connexion is strengthened by the existence of a cuirass embossed in much the same style in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, which is signed *D. G. V. Lochorst fecit*. The name of van Lochorst occurs among members of the Guild of St. Luke at Amersfoort and Alkmaar, and the cuirass bears a tradition of having been made for the Duc de Guise. Or does work done both at Paris and at Antwerp owe its mutual resemblance to the common inspiration of Étienne Delaune? There the problem now rests. In passing, it may be worth mentioning that Heinrich Cnoep or Knopf, a Nürnberg goldsmith who was at one time thought to be the author of the two suits at Dresden, now passes finally from the scene. He was never more than a red herring, but because his name was recorded as having sold these armours to the Saxon princes, he was believed in some quarters (against all stylistic evidence) to have been their maker. Documents taken by themselves can be misleading.

The authors of this monograph, which was begun by the late Baron Cederström and completed by Dr. Steneberg, believe that the Skokloster Shield was likewise made for King Erik XIV. The excellent series of collotype reproductions of details of the embossed ornament and damascening of the Skokloster Shield given in this book should materially assist in the solution of a problem on which the final word has yet to be written.

J. G. M.

*Studies in the Anthropology of Oceania and Asia*. Presented in memory of Roland Burrage Dixon.

Edited by CARLETON S. COON and JAMES M. ANDREWS IV. Peabody Museum Papers, vol. xx. 10½ × 7½. Pp. xiv + 220. Cambridge, Mass., 1943.

R. B. Dixon, b. 1875, d. 1934, was Professor of Anthropology from 1906 and built up the Museum and its great Library. Coon gives us his life and bibliography. H. L. Shapiro declares for the fundamental unity of Polynesian physical type, the diverse elements having mixed before the invasion of the islands from south-east Asia began. K. P. Emory gives a survey of 'Polynesian Stone Remains', whereof the *marae* of Tahiti, and the *ahu* of Easter Island are the most impressive, the structures of Ellice Island representing the primitive stem from which the other forms diverged. E. S. G. Handy discusses 'Two Petroglyphs in the Marquesas' and is disposed to bring in Hindu influences: very speculative. G. McGregor, 'The Gods of Rennell Island': their worship has survived better than that of any other gods in the Solomons. W. W. Howells, 'The Racial Elements of Melanesia': the most startling suggestion is that in Melanesia there is besides Negritos a real Negro element. Douglas L. Oliver, 'The Horomoron Concepts of S. Bougainville', studies a delightful system of social climbing by the help of familiar demons. Ralph Linton, 'Culture Sequences in Madagascar'; an excellent summary. Gordon T. Bowles is not inclined to agree with Pater Schmidt that the Mundas underlie great areas of population in the Himalayas, also the Mon-Khmer peoples and much of the island world, nor will he concede them to Hevesy's Finno-Ugrians. James M. Andrews cites instances from Thailand, Japan, and New England



Farther east in Hadhramaut and Dhofar he describes Veddoïd people forming a link between India and Africa, bearers of a cattle culture likewise linking India and Africa: he accounts for the characteristics of the northern Arabs by their having substituted the camel and the horse for the ox. This whole southern region shelters survivals that may illumine the connexions of far-sundered areas.

E. H. MINNS

*Dynastien Bernadottes Vapen och det Svenska Riksvapnet.* By ARVID BERGHMAN. 11  $\frac{3}{4}$  × 8  $\frac{3}{4}$ . Pp. 119 + 92 figures. Skrifter utgivna av Riksheraldikrämberet I, Stockholm; Aktiebolaget Svensk Litteratur, 1944.

In this sumptuously produced and illustrated volume Mr. Berghman, the Secretary of the Royal Heraldic Office in Stockholm, traces the origin and history of the personal and royal arms of the present Swedish dynasty. Those who, like the present reviewer, have no Swedish will be grateful for the 'Résumé français' at the end, which with the numerous plates makes the main development clear enough.

The favourite themes and patterns of Napoleonic heraldry may not appeal much to the medievalist, but they are highly characteristic, not always infelicitous, and here too little known. It will, however, be generally agreed that Marshal Bernadotte, heraldically speaking, did well to abandon his ancestral arms with their Napoleonic additions in favour of the fine canting coat of the town of Ponte Corvo, of which he became prince in 1806, *a raven above a bridge of three arches*. Napoleonic princes bore eagles in chief, and the raven, therefore, became an eagle grasping a thunderbolt in his claws. When Bernadotte was chosen Crown Prince of Sweden in 1810 he placed the Ponte Corvo coat in pretence on a shield in which the three crowns of Sweden impaled the arms of the medieval Folkungar dynasty. But when in 1818 he became King of Sweden and Norway he assumed a shield tierced in pairle of Sweden, Norway, and Folkungar, and over all an inescutcheon impaling Vasa and his own coat of Ponte Corvo.

From this point a series of interesting, and to an Englishman often unexpected, variations of the marshalling, and in a less degree of the constituent coats, is traced in the bearings both of successive sovereigns and of royal cadets. The conjunction of three coats in pairle is known to us by the Hanoverian example. But the marshalling of four coats *per saltire*, or of three *per bend* and the *sinister per bend again*, is unfamiliar. The division of quarters by a cross over all, though unusual with us, is not unknown.

The Swedish princesses bear the Royal Arms undifferenced, before marriage upon a lozenge, after marriage *accollées* with their husbands'. The princes difference the Royal coat by placing in the fourth quarter the arms of the provinces from which they take their several ducal titles. Under the Swedish constitution members of the Royal family may forfeit their right of succession by marriage with subjects. Three shields assigned in such circumstances are shown. In each case the arms of the kingdom vanish, but those of Bernadotte remain, with or without addition. It is logical no doubt, but there is a marked contrast with our own practice, which has assigned even to royal bastards the shield of the realm differenced. English sovereigns, however, Cromwell and William III alone excepted, have in their heraldry altogether abandoned ancestry for kingship and borne no family arms in pretence, using those of the realm only. *Per contra*, we may infer, they have taken the Royal Arms to be their own as fully as any family coat could be. How many English heralds could blazon without halting the paternal coat of Tudor?

Mr. Berghman, with great boldness, ends his book with a plea for amendment of the Royal Arms of his country, and his illustrator reinforces his argument with a handsome set of designs. A foreign reviewer can only say of these they come closer to the old forms he has been taught to venerate, than the nineteenth-century examples which inevitably supply most of Mr. Berghman's illustrations. It should be added that the latter are upon the whole very favourable specimens of their age and will by some be preferred.

A. R. W.

*The Excavation of Los Muertos and Neighbouring Ruins in the Salt River Valley, Southern Arizona.*

By EMIL W. HAURY.  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ . Pp. xvi + 223. Peabody Museum Papers, vol. xxiv, no. 1. 1945.

*An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco.* By JOHN H. ROWE.  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ . Pp. xi + 63. Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. xxxvii, no. 2. 1944.

*Archaeological Investigations in El Salvador.* By JOHN M. LONGYEAR III, with an appendix by STANLEY H. BOGGS.  $14 \times 11$ . Pp. xi + 90. Memoirs of the Peabody Museum, vol. ix, no. 2. 1944.

Of these three publications on American archaeology by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, the two which deal with areas outside the United States were published for the Institute of Andean Research. This organization has recently carried out a series of ten archaeological projects in Latin America under the sponsorship of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, showing that the United States Government is taking a direct interest in archaeology as an instrument of international co-operation. By a sensible arrangement, the results are published by various universities and museums as part of their normal series.

The first paper deals with the collections made by the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition of 1886-9. This was the first venture of its kind in the south-west, and great credit is due to Mrs. Hemenway for having launched and financed it. It was under the direction of a remarkable man, F. H. Cushing, who had an intimate knowledge of the surviving Indians, derived from living among them, particularly at Zuni Pueblo. His methods were not those of the present day, and owing to ill health and other causes he did not make a full report, so a good deal of information has been lost, but Dr. Haury has done a good service in describing the collections fully in the light of modern knowledge. The Salt River Valley was for long occupied by the people who produced the Hohokam Culture. Los Muertos and some of the other sites investigated were occupied mainly during the latest or Classic period of the culture, probably of fourteenth-century date, when they were inhabited concurrently by the Hohokam and an alien group of Pueblo Indians, who appear to have lived amicably together, without any noticeable fusion of their cultures. Dr. Haury points out the characteristics of each, and, in a concluding chapter, discusses the movements of population which gave rise to this peculiar mixture of peoples.

Mr. Rowe's work at Cuzco, the metropolis of the Incas, forms part of the project which deals with the Southern Highlands of Peru. In view of the practical lack of any material but Inca from the immediate neighbourhood of Cuzco, it badly needed doing, and the need was increased by the opinion, now widely held, that the famous Inca buildings which survive there are of comparatively recent date, perhaps no older than the middle of the fifteenth century. Mr. Rowe's principal discovery was a pre-Inca culture which he named the Chanapata, at a number of sites. Traces of humble semi-subterranean buildings with rough stone walls were found, and the pottery was simple in character and not related to the Inca types. He considers, on the evidence of Inca genealogies, that Inca Cuzco was founded about A.D. 1200, so the Chanapata Culture must be at least as early as this. The other main feature of the paper is a full description of the well-known Inca religious buildings now incorporated in the Dominican friary at Cuzco, accompanied by the first accurately-measured plan.

The archaeology of El Salvador is very imperfectly known, so the principal task of the author of the third paper and his assistant, Mr. S. Boggs, was to make a reconnaissance with a view to visiting as many sites and collections as possible. They also include a list of reported sites, culled from all available sources. In addition, Longyear did excavations at Los Llanitos, a mound and ball-court site in the eastern part of the country, and Boggs did exploratory excavations at two sites in the central and western parts. The ball-court at Los Llanitos is the southernmost so far recorded in



America. Briefly, both excavations and the study of existing collections indicate the existence of a complex set of local cultures with little or no relationship to anything known elsewhere. At the same time, local collections contain painted pottery showing strong Maya influence, besides pottery bearing evidence of Mexican influences, particularly in the central and western areas. The necessity for more reconnaissance and exploratory excavation, in order to sketch in the broad outlines before intensive excavations on single sites are undertaken, is very wisely stressed.

G. H. S. B.

*Henry Yevele, c. 1320-1400, the Life of an English Architect.* By JOHN H. HARVEY. Pp. x+86. London: Batsford, 1944. 15s.

The name of Henry Yevele has been long known and his importance among English master-masons of the later part of the fourteenth century well recognized. To Mr. Harvey, after zealous study of his accredited works and with a comprehensive acquaintance with the political, social, and artistic history of his times, he takes a position among architects equivalent to that of Chaucer among men of letters. If not the creator of the 'perpendicular' style, towards which William Joy at Wells and William Ramsey in the chapter-house of St. Paul's had shown the way, Yevele, in the works which he undertook as an official in the royal service, overshadowed lesser artists and set an emphatic example of his style as a model for his contemporaries. It is possible to assign him a position too unique, for such men as William Wynford and the master-carpenter Hugh Herland deserve to be reckoned as collaborators rather than imitators. But of him details are more abundant than of the others and, if Mr. Harvey's division of his active life into three periods of 'Success', 'Fame', and 'The Grand Old Man' is perhaps rather more than is actually warranted by facts, someone was needed to give a connected picture of his achievements and present him as something more than a master of an individual style which Lethaby, with not unappreciative candour, described as 'big and bare'.

The old theory, still cherished here and there, that the higher clergy of the middle ages possessed power of architectural design, has long lost its hold on most minds, and in face of documentary evidence William of Wykeham has been dethroned from his reputation of a master architect. The revulsion on Mr. Harvey's part is possibly too strong, and a less adventurous writer might hesitate to call Elias of Dereham a dilettante or dismiss Alan of Walsingham as incapable of solving the problem of roofing the Octagon at Ely. It may be, of course, that the design of Salisbury Cathedral may have been affected by the intrusion of Master Elias's notions into the scheme contemplated by Nicholas of Ely; but Elias must not be denied the credit of a diligent official of the local chapter with considerable experience of building finance and the ways of masons. Nor can we forget that the epithet *Flos operatorum*, applied to Alan of Walsingham in his epitaph, implies at any rate a highly intelligent and practical interest in art; and, though we need not assign to him the technical skill necessary to roof the Octagon, it was not beyond what was once called a 'forgetive' brain to conceive an idea which a first-rate carpenter could carry into execution. Such possibilities are worth consideration.

Mr. Harvey himself has a brain of that quality and is not himself afraid of entering upon conjectures. The origin of Yevele is uncertain and there seems no serious objection to the identification of his name with Yeovil in Somerset, a not unpromising native place for one of Yevele's profession. But the father of Henry Yevele, we know, was called Roger, not an uncommon name, and a Roger de Zeveleye, who probably took his name from Yeaveley in Derbyshire, was living at Uttoxeter and contributing to the subsidy of 1327. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the said Roger was the father of Henry, and, as Henry's brother Robert was also a mason, we may further assume that Roger was a mason and worked at Tutbury and other places of importance in the neighbourhood. From this it is no great way to picturing the influence, alike



of home and of such buildings as the Lady Chapel of Lichfield Cathedral, upon the mind of the young Henry. All this is interesting, but a scientific genealogist would hardly accept such slight and insufficient evidence as the foundation of a serious story.

Much that Mr. Harvey has to say of the building activity of Yevele's time is well said with keen appreciation and just criticism. He has ranged widely over the architecture of the period and sees clearly the mastery of design achieved by its artists. He is quick, too, to notice those likenesses of detail between one work of art and another which may point to the work of the same hand, though here, as in every department of medieval life, the strong influence of common form cannot be forgotten. There is of course a natural temptation to convey the king's mason William Ramsey to Gloucester for the earlier part at any rate of the work done there in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, though it may be safe to attribute to another that multiplication of lierne ribs in the choir-vault which, while not completed till at least twenty years after the death of Edward II, still 'reflected the effeminacy of his court'. These things may or may not be, and it is always interesting to notice the significance which an ingenious mind attaches to such details; but there is always the danger that the unwary reader may take flights of fancy as serious history.

In fact, this desire to credit artists such as Henry Yevele, whose authentic work and its features he describes excellently, with works of their connexion with which nothing is recorded, is too characteristic of Mr. Harvey's method. One conspicuous example may be taken. The style of the Neville screen, the great reredos raised at Durham in 1380, 'is', he says, 'so like that of the tombs and monuments known to have been designed by Yevele that it is almost certain that he was responsible'. It is a noble masterpiece of art, and we quite agree that, if designed by Yevele, 'it is his masterpiece in the realms of pure art and ornament'. We know that the stone for this reredos, clunch from Dorset or Bedfordshire, was sent from London to Newcastle by sea, and preparations for it were being made as early as 1374 or 1375. In 1376, when a mason of Lord Neville's went to London and back, part of the reredos was brought down from London by a mason: there was thus communication between the masons at Durham and the London masons who hewed the stone, but no mention of a guiding genius in London. We will not assume how much of the reredos a mason could bring down and will leave the meaning of 'part of the reredos' to prudent conjecture; but during the following years the stones for the reredos were in store at Newcastle and were brought over to Durham at intervals at the discretion of the sacrist of the monastery. In these circumstances the only artist to whom we may give credit is the mason whom Lord Neville employed: there is no indication that he went to London to do more than take stock of the stone to be transferred in a wrought shape to Newcastle, and still less is there any hint that he took counsel with or accepted a design from Yevele. So far the Account Rolls of the monastery. If, as Mr. Harvey desires, a *catalogue raisonné* with measured drawings, &c., of Yevele's works comparable to Skeat's edition of Chaucer ever appears, the inclusion of the Neville Screen must rest upon better evidence than a certain community of style with other achievements. Otherwise, it must remain an honoured member of the Yeveleian Apocrypha.

We wish that Mr. Harvey had given us fuller references to original documents for such important details as Yevele's work at Canterbury. The nave at Canterbury seldom attracts the attention given to the rest of the building, and an estimate of it as the 'very finest product of English Gothic' and 'the finest interior now remaining in England, and one of the greatest masterpieces of art in the world', if possibly overdrawn, is salutary. An admirable illustration shows it at its best, and the volume has all the pictorial virtues so sedulously fostered by the publisher. It should be noted, however, that the outer gateway of Cowling Castle, of which there is a photograph, is very much later than the date ascribed to it, and the actual gateway of 1380 will be found at the entrance to the inner ward.

A. H. T.

## PERIODICAL LITERATURE

PROC. BRIT. ACAD., 1942:—The etched decoration of armour, by James G. Mann; The art of the northern nomads, by Ellis H. Minns; Morals and manners of the quattrocento, by C. M. Ady.

JOURN. R. ANTH. I., vol. 72, parts 1 and 2:—Culture contact as a museum problem, by H. J. Braunscholtz; North Syria as a cultural link in the ancient world, by Sir Leonard Woolley; The anthropometry of the population of a London borough (Hornsey), by W. T. Russell; The Kebbi fisherman, by P. G. Harris; Floats: a study in primitive water-transport, by J. Hornell; The physical characters of the Pa Miao people of Kweichow and other peoples of South China, by T. L. Woo; Effects of culture contact on the form of the family in a Guatemalan village, by Morris Siegel.

ANTIQUITY, Sept. 1945:—Dura-Europos, by J. W. Crowfoot; Carausius, his mints and his money system, by H. Mattingly; Vergilian cities of the Roman Campagna, by Bertha Tilly; Ancient river beds and dead cities, by Dorothy Mackay; Aerial reconnaissance of the Fen Basin, by F./Lt. D. N. Riley; Farmsteads in Central India, by Stuart Piggott; Kelliwic in Cornwall, by P. K. Johnstone; The bone 'gouges' of Maiden Castle and other sites, by Grace M. Crowfoot; Farmers and forests in Neolithic Europe, by R. P. Beckinsale.

Dec. 1945:—Early man and the soils of Anglesey, by W. F. Grimes; The settlements of the Celtic saints in South Wales, by E. G. Bowen; Life in ancient Hadhramaut, by H. Ingrams; Concerning unicorns, by W. H. Riddell; Tripil's 'ka Kultura, by V. Gordon Childe; Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum, by O. G. S. Crawford; Archaeological journalism in the 17th century, by Stuart Piggott; A vertical water-mill near Salonika, by E. Cecil Curwen; Iron in the Meroitic Age, by A. J. Arkell.

ARCH. JOURN., vol. 100:—Wall paintings in the church of St. John the Evangelist, Corby, Lincolnshire, by E. C. Rouse.

JOURN. B.A.A., 3rd series, vol. 8:—Westminster Abbey. Various bosses, capitals and corbels of the thirteenth century, by R. P. Howgrave-Graham; Boundary and property marks in London, by L. B. Ellis; The development of English illumination in the twelfth century, by F. Wormald; The building works and architects of Cardinal Wolsey, by John H. Harvey.

JOURN. R.I.B.A., June 1945:—The education of the medieval architect, by John H. Harvey.

Sept. 1945:—The condition of the monuments of France.

Oct. 1945:—The National Monuments of Belgium and Luxembourg. The Reports of the Directorate of Civil Affairs of the War Office on War Damaged Monuments.

Dec. 1945:—The preservation of historical architecture in the War Zones, by Lt.-Col. Sir Leonard Woolley.

JOURN. S. ARMY HIST. RES., vol. 23, no. 94:—Officers of the 21st Royal North British Fusiliers, 1846, by Rev. P. Sumner; Lancers, by Major G. Tylden; British regiments afloat; Cap Passaro and other incidents, by C. T. Atkinson; The martial life, the bi-centenary of its reintroduction, by H. G. Farmer; The clothing of the British Army in 1746, by Rev. P. Sumner.

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Käringsjön. Studier i Halländsk järnålder. By Holger Arbman. 9½×6½. Pp. 179. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del 59 (1). Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1945.

Sagorna om Vinland. I. Handskrifterna till Erik den Rödes Saga. By Sven B. F. Jansson. 9½×6½. Pp. 291. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del. 60 (1). Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1945.

Alt-Uppsala und Arkona. By Åke Ohlmarks. 9½×6½. Pp. 120. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1944.

Die Saxe von Valsgärde I. By Pär Olsén. 12×9. Pp. 124. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1945.

A drinking horn of the Viking period. By A. Roes. 9½×6½. Pp. 79-101. *Reprint* Med. der Koninklijke Ned. Akad. van Wetenschappen, af. Letterkunde. Amsterdam, 1940.

## WALL PAINTINGS

- Valvslagning och Kalkmålningar i Skånska Kyrkor. By M. Rydbeck. 9½ × 6½. Pp. 341. Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund. xxxv. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1943.
- English Medieval wall-painting. By E. W. Tristram. The twelfth century, with a catalogue by E. W. Tristram compiled in collaboration with W. G. Constable. 12½ × 10. Pp. xii + 164. Prepared with the assistance of the Courtauld Institute of Art and published on behalf of the Pilgrim Trust by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1944. £12. 12s.



## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

*Thursday, 25th October 1945.* Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.

Mr. M. J. Tapper, Mr. F. T. A. Ashton-Gwatkin, Mr. J. A. M. Rannie, and Mr. J. N. Summerson were admitted Fellows.

Mr. E. W. Lovegrove, F.S.A., read a paper on Llanthony Abbey.

*Thursday, 29th November 1945.* Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.

Mr. C. H. J. Farthing, Dr. F. H. Garner, Mr. A. H. A. Hogg, Mr. J. D. Firth, Mr. F. W. Jessup, Rev. R. W. M. Lewis, and Mrs. C. L. Curle were admitted Fellows.

Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, F.S.A., read a paper on War-time Excavations by the Ministry of Works.

*Thursday, 6th December 1945.* H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

Prof. E. K. Tratman, Prof. D. Talbot Rice, and Lt.-Col. J. B. Ward Perkins were admitted Fellows.

Lt.-Col. J. B. Ward Perkins, F.S.A., read a paper on the Monuments of Italy and the War.

*Thursday, 17th January 1946.* J. G. Mann, Esq., Director, in the Chair.

Mr. C. A. J. Armstrong, Dr. W. Douglas Simpson, Rev. A. A. Guest-Williams, and Miss Joan Wake were admitted Fellows.

Dr. W. Douglas Simpson, F.S.A., read a paper on Bastard Feudalism and the later castles.

*Thursday, 31st January 1946.* Sir Cyril Fox, President, in the Chair.

Sir William Davies, Miss D. Whitelock, Mrs. Piggott, and Lt.-Col. T. Sutton were admitted Fellows.

On the nomination of the President the following were appointed Auditors of the Society's accounts for the year 1945: Mr. W. F. Grimes, Mrs. J. J. Hawkes, Mr. A. R. Wagner, Mr. F. Wormald.

Mr. John Allan, F.S.A., read a paper on the coins from the Sutton Hoo Ship Burial, and Mr. Herbert Maryon read a paper on the Shield from the Sutton Hoo Ship Burial.

*Thursday, 7th February, 1946.* H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

Rev. E. D. Arundell was admitted a Fellow. Mr. G. H. S. Bushnell, F.S.A., exhibited three fifteenth-century painted panels recently discovered in the Vicarage, Fordingbridge, Hants; and Rev. P. B. G. Binnall, F.S.A., exhibited a bronze medallion of Margarita, Duchess of Saluzzo, 1517.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society: Mr. John Eric Miers Macgregor, Mr. Marshall Arnott Sisson, Lord Raglan, Mr. Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh, Mr. James Maxwell Davidson, Mr. George Drewry Squibb, Mr. Robert Wyndham Ketton-Cremer, Professor Arthur Bedford Knapp-Fisher, Mr. Edward Herbert Keeling, Prof. William Alexander Jackson, Mr. Herbert Read, Mr. Hannibal Publius Scicluna, and Mr. Arthur Leigh Bollard Ashton.

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